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Blacks, Jews, Liberals, and Crime: Koch, Kemp, WFB

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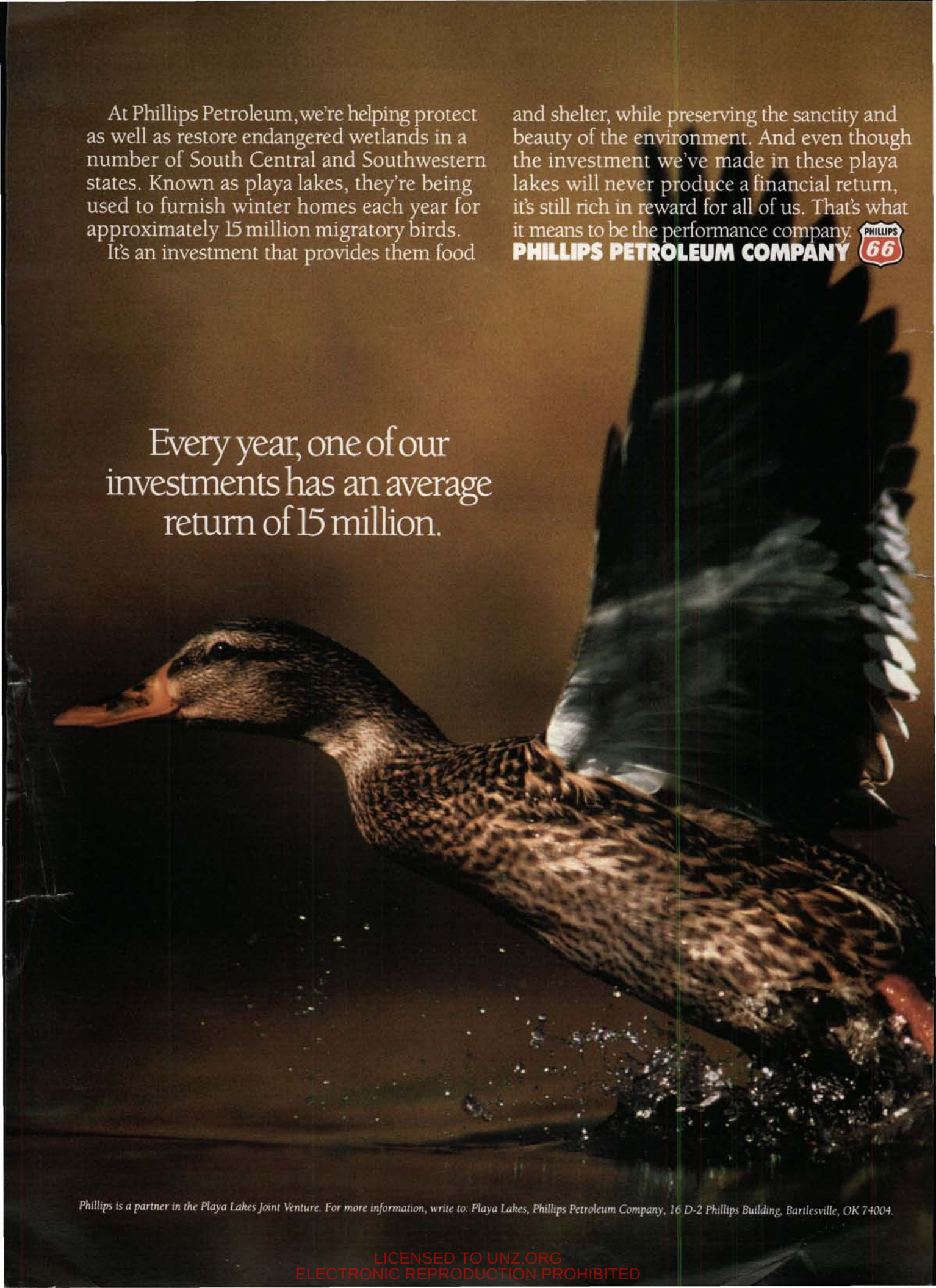

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NATIONAL REVIEW

MAY 16, 1994 VOL. XLVI, NO. 9

Cover Story

51 ***Smoking for Two?***
No credible study has concluded that secondhand smoke is dangerous. Why then did the Federal Government declare it "a known human lung carcinogen"? **Jacob Sullum** reports on how the EPA let political smoke get in its eyes.

Articles

24 ***On the Scene***
Before voting against the Democrats, **Lawrence Kudlow** urges, Republicans should put their best foot forward with a radical restructuring of welfare as we know it. . . . In Bosnia, says **Chandler Rosenberger**, the Clinton Administration can't even capitalize on its diplomatic successes. . . . In the Touvier trial, reports **Richard Grenier**, France at long last grappled with its collaborationist past.

34 ***Blacks, Jews, Liberals, and Crime***
America can't deal with black crime and racist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan through evasion, argues **Ed Koch**—time to stop flinching from the truth. **Jack Kemp**, **Walter E. Williams**, **Peter N. Kirsanow**, and **Jared Taylor** reply. **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** adjudicates.

54 ***A Tale of Two Governors***
In the Midwest two Republican governors are staking different paths for the GOP. **Daniel D. Polsby** reports on a reformer and his alter ego.

59 ***Don't Count on Me, Singapore***
Jonah M. David finds a statist Singapore hampered by methods of social control more subtle—and far more insidious—than the cane.

61 ***The RICO Racket***
Two decades ago the ACLU and Ted Kennedy worried that anti-racketeering RICO laws would be turned against demonstrators. Now they have been, says **G. Robert Blakey**, author of the original legislation, but liberals aren't balking.

Books, Arts & Manners

65 **Hugh Thomas** is in his element in Mario Vargas Llosa's *A Fish in Water*, the memoir of the novelist who almost became Peru's president. . . . The engaging reminiscences of *Hayek on Hayek*, the Nobel Laureate's brief autobiography, leave **Ralph Harris** wishing for more. . . . **Liah Greenfeld** finds William Pfaff's reflections on human nature and progress apt, even if the title of his book, *The Wrath of Nations*, isn't. . . . Martha Bayles's *Hole in Our Soul* saves rock from both its friends on the left and its critics on the right, says **Mark Cunningham**. . . . **John Simon** blasts the magic-realism of *The House of Spirits*, and tolerates the inconsequential *Sirens*. . . . What's wrong with gossip? **David Klinghoffer** tells all.

80 ***The Misanthrope's Corner***
Feminists who abet the assault on American manners are in for a rude awakening, warns **Florence King**.

Sections

2 ***Letters***
4 ***For the Record***
6 ***From the Editor***
8 ***The Week***
34 ***Random Walk***
46 help
63 ***Letter from Al***
73 ***Books in Brief***
77 ***Trans-O-Gram***
78 ***On the Right***

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The Audit Bureau

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LETTERS

The Graying of J. M. Keynes

The second volume of Robert Skidelsky's biography of John Maynard Keynes may, as reviewer John Gray intoned, "rank among the few true masterpieces of biography to have appeared in English in the twentieth century" ["Are You Saved?" Mar. 21]. But Professor Gray's claim that Lord Keynes was "the greatest economic thinker of the age" cannot be supported. If Keynes actually resembled the portrait of him painted by Gray, then his reputation as the premier economist of this century might be justified. Alas, the real Keynes was not the moderate reformer, economic genius, and friend of capitalism that Gray makes him out to be.

To begin, Gray notes that "the role Keynes saw for government was that of tending the macroeconomic environment, not that of microeconomic intervention. Keynes never supported the corporatist industrial policy favored by many in the early Thirties in Britain, believing that a full-employment policy based on providing effective demand would render economic planning, corporatist or otherwise, unnecessary." What Keynes actually said in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* was: "I conceive, therefore, that a somewhat comprehensive socialization of investment will prove the only means of securing an approximation to full employment." By any standard, Keynes's work makes it clear that he endorsed a role for government far beyond the fine-tuning of aggregate demand.

Gray also mistakenly believes that Keynes "clearly rejected as overly mechanistic" those postwar interpretations of his theory that simultaneously confounded so many economics students, mesmerized generations of wonks in the Treasury Department, and gave us several years of stagflation. The most celebrated mechanistic interpretation of the Keynesian model is the IS-LM framework, invented by Sir John Hicks in 1937. After reading Hicks's article, Keynes wrote, "I found it very interesting and really have next to nothing to say by way of criticism." The remainder of Keynes's letter discusses only minor quibbles with Hicks's interpretation without suggesting that Hicks fundamentally misconstrued the Keynesian theme.

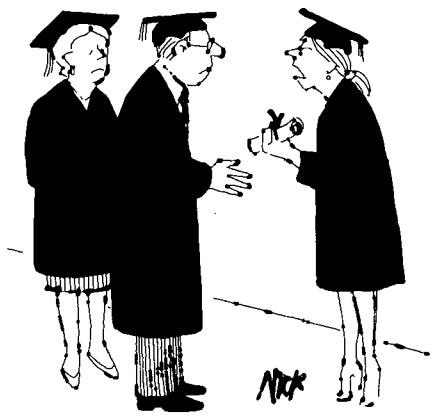
By calling Keynes the greatest economist of the age, Mr. Gray denigrates Ronald Coase, Milton Friedman, F. A. Hayek, Frank Knight, Ludwig von Mises, and Joseph Schumpeter—each of whom possessed (and, in the case of Coase and Friedman, still possess) far greater understanding than Keynes of the way economies work. None of these economists ever uttered anything as devoid of economic sense as Keynes's assertion that an economy run according to Keynesian principles "would mean the euthanasia of the rentier, and, consequently, the euthanasia of the cumulative oppressive power of the capitalist to exploit the scarcity value of capital."

Keynes may have been a genius and he certainly was influential, but why must intelligent scholars such as Professor Gray continue to perpetuate the myth that he was unparallelled among twentieth-century economists?

Prof. Donald J. Boudreaux
Clemson, S.C.

Professor Boudreaux writes that my description of Keynes as the greatest economic thinker of the age disparages the achievements of other economists such as Friedman, Hayek, and Schumpeter. Not so. It may well be that each of the economics professors Boudreaux mentions understands some aspect of the way in which economies work better than Keynes did. This is only to be expected, given the increased specialization in economics since Keynes's day. At the same time, none of the thinkers mentioned by Professor Boudreaux has had the transforming effect on economics as a discipline that Keynes did. The point about Keynes is not that he understood every aspect of economic life better than anyone else—an absurd claim I do not make for him—but that, more than anyone else, he set the intellectual agenda for economics in our time.

It may be, as Professor Boudreaux maintains, that Keynes favored governmental intervention in the economy going well beyond the regulation of aggregate demand. I remain unconvinced that he would have endorsed the corporatist policies favored by some of his professed followers in the postwar period. —JG



"Thanks—but I think the pink ribbon is rather sexist."

Who's So Gloomy?

"The Encircling Gloom," the title of your mean-spirited editorial concerning the ordination of 32 women by the Church of England, suggests an ability to predict a less than happy future for someone or something ["The Week," Apr. 4]. The question is, for whom or for what?

Few Anglicans will waste their time worrying about the Roman Catholic Church should it cease reunion talks because the Bishop of Rome had his feelings hurt by the Archbishop of Canterbury. As a Roman Catholic priest from Belgium who spoke at the ordination said, "[We should] pray that the Roman Catholic Church may finally be able to overcome ossified and discriminating legislation and allow women to be ordained and lead the way in preaching God's work, in celebrating the Eucharist, and in showing ways for the community of faith to go." These words, like many of the reports that I have read on the ordination, convey a sense of enthusiasm and happiness. If there is gloom, it presumably emanates from the Papists.

Thomas J. O'Donnell
Phoenix, Ariz.

Our Apologies

We would like to apologize to David Frishberg for incorrectly attributing his song "My Attorney, Bernie," to Blossom Dearie. Leon Suchard of Massapequa, N.Y., was kind enough to bring this to our attention.

We would also like to apologize to our good friends Beavis and Butthead, who do not, as we stated, work in a pizza parlor. The two are gainfully employed by Burger World. —ED.

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Foreign-policy doubts: Former **Clinton** supporter and **Carter** NSC chief **Zbigniew Brzezinski** sees Clinton as "most disengaged President of my lifetime" (*Wall Street Journal*). American Political Science Association president **Charles Jones** says Prez is "amazing" in "abdicating leadership in foreign policy" (*New York Post*). . . . With Bosnia explosion and North Korea's A-bomb program on front pages, Clinton's ballyhooed ride in '60s Ford Mustang evoked comparisons to photo of tank commander **Dukakis** in '88 campaign. . . . CIA's **James Woolsey** adds to impression of disarray, complaining of "eroding" ties to White House, says *U.S. News*. Hill Dems, in turn, charge Woolsey's response to **Ames** spy scandal (more arrests possible) is "impossibly tepid," setting off rumors that Woolsey may make **Les Aspin**–like departure. . . . On health-care front: Former Ohio Gov. (and FOB) **Richard Celeste**, admitting failure, abruptly quit after seven-month hitch as top health-care salesman. . . . Declining support for reform proposal, despite Bill/Hillary barnstorming, has Capitol Hill Dems proposing no fewer than seven substitutes. Once-popular alternative of Rep. **Jim Cooper** (D., Tenn.) fading as Congressional Budget Office cites huge deficit increase.

■ Political fallout from April 15 worse than White House expected: *USA Today* featured survey of small business outrage and hiring cutbacks. . . . New taxes, re-regulation, and health-plan worries could cause another round of "sharply lower stock prices," says *Chicago Sun-Times* stockmeister **Terri Savage**. . . . Neat idea: Arizona Senate candidate, GOP Rep. **John Kyl**, wants income-tax filing day shifted to election day. . . . GOP National Chairman **Haley Barbour** put on tax-day rally, which included mock Boston Tea Party, to remind voters of Clinton's broken promise to ease tax load on middle class. . . . Democratic Chairman **David Wilhelm** roped off 2 per cent of seats in football stadium to show small number affected by IRS hikes. He failed to show increase in gasoline and Social Security taxes, which hit nearly everyone.

■ Whitewater paper trails to watch: two years of memos by federal investigator **L. Jean Lewis** about refusals of higher-ups to investigate Madison S&L; and diary of Treasury Dept. Chief of Staff **Josh Steiner** with material on White House phone calls. . . . *NY Times* columnist **Bill Safire** points out that Special Counsel **Robert Fiske** was choice of since-departed White House Counsel **Bernard Nussbaum**. Fiske has assured GOP House members that former ties to Nussbaum and NY firms that sold Arkansas bonds will not affect his inquiry. . . . Republican pollster **Richard Wirthlin** sees serious erosion in Clinton's "leadership" ratings as 62 per cent say country on "wrong track." . . . Pollster **Stuart Rothenberg** now says his prediction of ten-seat GOP gain in House is too low.

■ Former Nicaragua strongman **Daniel Ortega**—still a **Castro** fan and now living in luxury in expropriated estate—can kiss comeback hopes goodbye, says *Toronto Globe and Mail*. Ortega's position gravely weakened by calls for party reform plus continuing Sandinista ties to terrorists. . . . More capitalist-roaders making out in ex-**Mao**-land as Rolls-Royce opens showroom in China. . . . Carter-era Law of the Sea Treaty being revived at UN by U.S. Ambassador **Madeleine Albright**. (**Reagan** deep-sixed Third-World-tilting treaty.)

"When interest rates rise, I become impotent."

■ Too much political correctness in news columns partly behind *NY Times* management shake-up, according to *New Yorker*, *Washington Post*. In reshuffle former *Philadelphia Inquirer* editor **Gene Roberts**, whose leadership won numerous Pulitzers for *Inquirer*, was named managing editor of *Times*. . . . **George Gilder**, appearing on PBS *Technopolitics*, sees *Times* and *Boston Globe* (to say nothing of **Rather–Chung**, **Jennings**, and **Brokaw**), losing out to Knight-Ridder papers and *Chicago Tribune*, which, Gilder says, will be "big winners from the information highway." Those papers are planning to offer home viewers text, sound, prior stories, and *à la carte* ad menu.

■ Shroud of Turin back in news with claims of Protestant researcher Dr. **Alan Whanger** that only massive "electron discharge" explains Shroud's Roman-era markings and skeleton imprints. Whanger and others criticize 1988 carbon tests that questioned Shroud's authenticity, pointing out that laboratories that performed those tests "won't open their data for scrutiny." . . . Polls show 88 per cent of Americans believe religion is important, which may be why transsexual bungee-jumping fare on talk shows is becoming increasingly unpopular. **Oprah Winfrey** recently had program on "The Mysterious Power of Prayer," featuring study of startling recovery rates of heart patients who pray. **David Letterman** still apologizing for show with vulgarian **Madonna**.

■ Sighted in Virginia: Bumper which carried **Ollie North** for Senate sticker plus two others: "I Love Animals—They're Delicious," and "Hey, Hillary, Shut Up and Redecorate."

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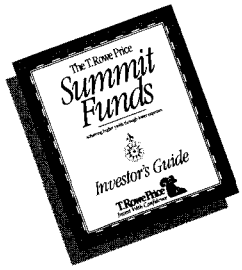

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FROM THE EDITOR

It Didn't End with Watergate

■ Unlike Bill Buckley, whose obituary of Richard Nixon appears on page 20, I did not know the 37th President well. I dined with him on three occasions, in the company of other journalists, and we exchanged a few letters, most on business, one from him commenting generously on an article of mine on James Burnham.

Yet although his politics were rarely mine, I could not help liking him.

Was it the enemies he had worthily made through the Hiss case? Or the opening to China, which tilted the world balance against the Soviets? Or when he put the nation first by refusing to contest the 1960 election returns in Illinois and Texas?

These things counted. But it was his air of resignation even when striving that made him such a curiously appealing figure.

After he had defeated the establishment notables who had rallied around Hiss, Mr. Nixon seemed to know in his soul that he would never be allowed another such victory. Or that if he seized one anyway, he would never be allowed to enjoy it. Nor was he wrong.

It Didn't Start with Watergate, Victor Lasky's book, documented how other Presidents had misused federal agencies to spy on and punish their enemies. His critics replied that these sins did not excuse Mr. Nixon. A reasonable retort, except that the Presidents who had committed these sins *were* excused—often by the very people who condemned him.

They could count on the benefit of history; Richard Nixon was never given the benefit of a single doubt.

He now stands before a Historian in possession of all the facts. After all the strivings, may he rest in peace.

■ You may have heard rumors that at the recent National Review Institute Summit Hizzoner Edward I. Koch (the one, true, and original Mayor of New York—accept no substitutes) and Jack Kemp, the happiest warrior, came to blows on the topic of blacks and crime.

Well, we have arranged a re-match, with Bill Buckley as referee, on page 34. And here's a teaser: the rumors were *slightly* exaggerated.

■ Most of Al Franken's jokes at the White House correspondents' dinner were very funny, if not always very tasteful, but a few failed. Because Mr. Franken has a crocodile charm, these failures were greeted in the friendliest fashion with low groans.

Except for the dud joke attacking Rush Limbaugh, which was applauded.

I first noticed this trend—i.e., people applauding unfunny jokes because they were politically correct—twenty years ago when a girlfriend dragged me to see *Happy End*, a musical by Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill.

Brecht's jokes were a perfect example of German humor, being no laughing matter. Even the partisan left-wing audience could not bring itself actually to chuckle at them. So they applauded instead. The general effect was a cross between old-fashioned vaudeville and a meeting of the Supreme Soviet:

"I say, I say, I say, my wife's gone to the West Indies." (Applause.)

"Jamaica?" (Prolonged applause.)

"No, she went of her own accord." (Thunderous and prolonged applause. All delegations stand.)

But demand creates supply. Let it become known there is money in dud jokes and soon you can't cross the road without being elbowed aside by a vast herd of chickens. Some years ago *Chronicles* referred sourly but accurately to "our main literary genre, the unfunny comic novel." Women comedians seem to have evolved in ten years from Erma Bombeck to clones of Lorena Bobbitt. And as the grim plague of political correctness spreads, we can expect more jokes that leave us feeling how sad life is.

Thank goodness we can switch on Rush Limbaugh for light relief.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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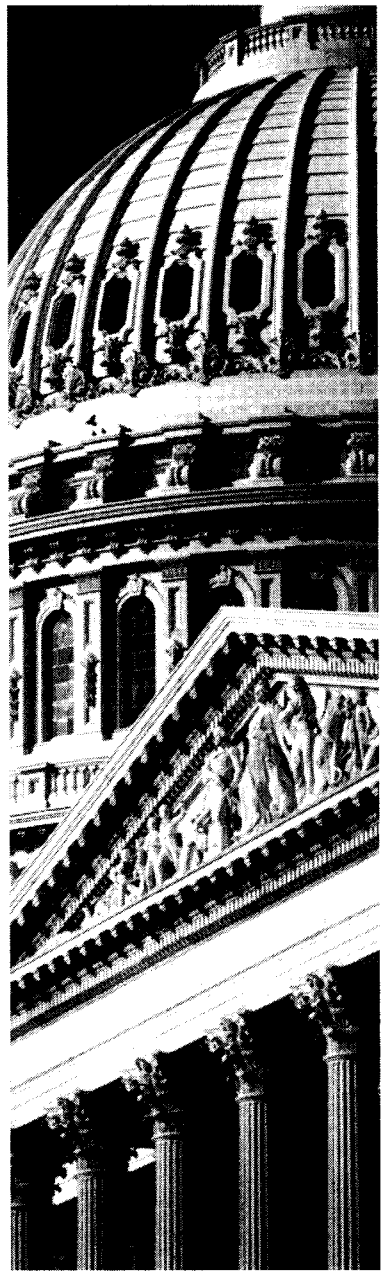
IS THERE ANY MEMBER OF CONGRESS... WHO WOULDN'T ENVY THESE RATINGS?



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Satisfaction with
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Satisfaction with
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Satisfaction with
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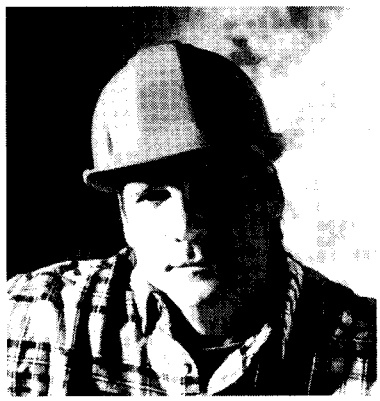

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THE WEEK

■ We hear that some people wanting to see President Clinton infiltrated a group of tourists at the White House in a desperate attempt to sneak into the Oval Office. What will the President's foreign-policy team think of next?

■ Hillary Clinton's Whitewater press conference was like her husband's: polished, and slippery. Mrs. Clinton did not explain how, in the 50–50 partnership that was Whitewater, Jim and Susan McDougal sustained most of the losses; why her chief of staff was among those who rifled Vince Foster's office after his death; or exactly how her phenomenal commodities trading succeeded. Her most egregious maneuver: continuing to bash the Decade of Greed ("the excess of the 1980s"), apart from speculations in cattle futures. Her least-noted maneuver: asserting that Dan Lassiter—a bond trader whom she and the Rose Law Firm had pursued acting as outside counsel for the Feds in yet another S&L case (in addition to that of the famous Madison Guaranty)—was neither a "personal" nor a "social" friend. Dan Lassiter met Virginia Kelley, Bill Clinton's mother, at the Hot Springs racetrack, where their boxes adjoined; he employed Roger Clinton, Bill's half-brother; he loaned the Clintons his private plane. What kind of friend was he? A crooked friend, surely; he was convicted of drug smuggling in the Eighties. Could she be confusing him with other friends?

■ Representative Jim Cooper's health-care bill—Clinton Lite—was touted as the package most likely to succeed this legislative session. No longer. The Congressional Budget Office has determined that the mix of expanded benefits and managed competition would increase the deficit by a least $150 billion, or twice as much as President Clinton's proposal. When confronted with the unpleasant news, Mr. Cooper asked: "When has the government ever gotten the health-care spending right?" We see his point. The last time Washington forecast the cost of a broad new health plan (Medicare), the estimates were off by a factor of nine. And they weren't *over*estimates.

■ Sam Brown, a former antiwar activist, is Bill Clinton's kind of guy. That's why Mr. Clinton nominated him to be U.S. Ambassador to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), an international organization that deals with European security and human rights. Mr. Brown's national-security experience is limited to having headed ACTION (which supervised the Peace Corps) under Jimmy Carter—unless one counts anti-Vietnam agitation as national-security experience. Even the usually pliant Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee thought this appointment too much. They voted against it *en bloc* and were able to force a recommittal on technical grounds. If President Clinton thinks Mr. Brown's appointment is worth fighting for a second time, then it's certainly worth fighting against.

■ David Letterman reports that when Hillary went to Wrigley Field for Opening Day, she asked for a hot dog and passed a twenty-dollar bill to the vendor. Back came the hot dog and five hundred dollars.

■ The New Jersey Education Association is holding rallies across the state to protest the budget of Governor Christine Todd Whitman. In a state whose per-pupil spending ranks second in the nation and whose average salaries for classroom teachers are 20 per cent above the U.S. average, while its students' test-score performance ranks 37th, a full-scale teachers' union revolt surely means that Mrs. Whitman is doing something right. And indeed she is. Her first action after being sworn in was a 5 per cent retroactive tax cut, countering President Clinton's retroactive tax increase. Then in her March budget announcement, she called for an additional 10 per cent tax cut effective January 1, 1995. Partly to finance this tax relief, Governor Whitman has proposed

"It has come to my attention that you have been exchanging recipes with the Russians."

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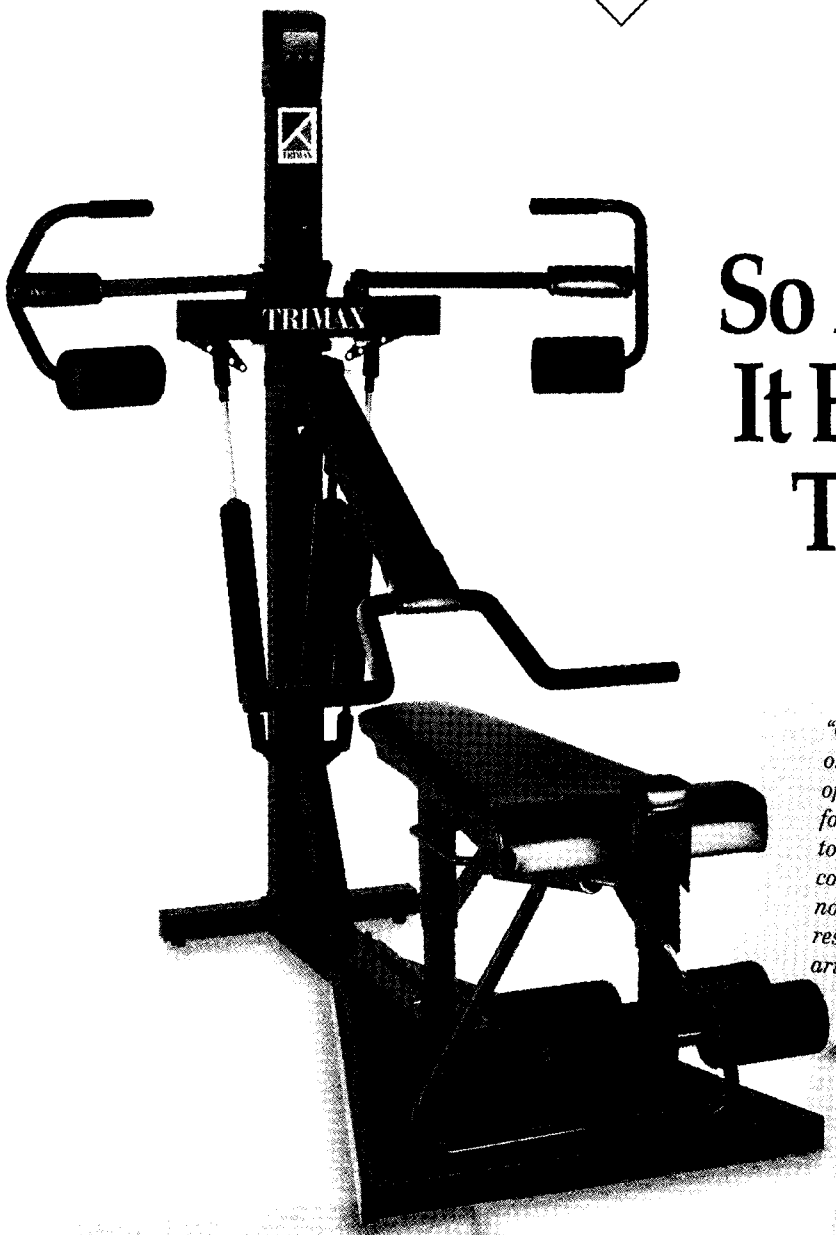

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trimming teacher benefits and deferring overly generous retirement programs, *and* created an advisory panel on school financing that expects to shift pension burdens from the state back to local districts, *and* hopes to put an end to budget-busting yearly education add-ons of $200 to $300 million. For better accountability, furthermore, she has called for periodic teacher competency testing. Mrs. Whitman is sending a politically potent message to voters: namely, that she believes they can spend their money more wisely than the government can. National GOP, are you listening?

■ Arguing that the background checks required by the Brady Act are too onerous for them to enforce, five sheriffs of rural counties in the South and West have challenged the law under the Tenth Amendment. They seem to be arguing that the Tenth Amendment prevents the Federal Government from requiring the states to violate the Second Amendment.

■ A ruling by Hawaii's State Supreme Court stands a good chance of making homosexual marriage legal in the Island Paradise. This would have far-reaching consequences, thanks to the full-faith-and-credit provision of the U.S. Constitution. The Constitution requires states to recognize legal documents issued by other states—from drivers' licenses to marriage licenses—except where indicated otherwise by established state policy. So a gay couple wedded in Hawaii would remain married, with all the rights and privileges that entails, should they pick up and move to, say, California. As *NR* contributing editor Hadley Arkes pointed out at the National Review Institute's Conservative Summit in March, that would in effect make same-sex marriage a legal reality in about half the states (that is, the 27 states that no longer have an established policy to the contrary, in the form of anti-sodomy laws). But if marriage-minded homosexuals can convince the United States Supreme Court that traveling to Hawaii to wed would inflict a discriminatory financial burden, the Court might declare itself compelled to require all states to provide gays the same service. In this not-unthinkable scenario, gay marriage could become legal from sea to shining sea.

■ A new study links a religious upbringing to a good sex life. If this doesn't bring liberalism to its knees, nothing will.

■ The Clinton Administration's abdication of leadership in foreign policy was made all too clear when, after 15 Americans died in a burst of "friendly fire" over Iraq, Vice President Al Gore conveyed "condolences to the families of those who died in the service of the United Nations." This remark must have surprised grieving families who had thought their loved ones had died in the service of the United States. The difference is significant and reveals the instincts of those currently running foreign policy and rewriting the role of the U.S. as just another member of a loose confederation of states.

■ For decades, the U.S. maintained a secret program in the Pentagon—the Doomsday Project—designed to ensure the continuity of the national government in the event of a decapitating nuclear catastrophe. According to a leak in the *New York Times*, the Clinton Administration has decided to dismantle the project as an "antique of the Cold War." We don't know what reassuring information the Administration may have, but it would seem that there are still nuclear dangers out there in today's world, even with the end of the Soviet Union. Third World renegades like North Korea, Iran, and Iraq are eagerly pursuing long-range ballistic missiles and nuclear, chemical, or biological warheads. Chaos or ultranationalism in Russia is also a realistic danger, and even the pulp-fiction specter of a smuggled suitcase bomb is no longer utterly far-fetched. For the present Administration to abdicate all planning for such contingencies is dumb, dangerous—and par for the course.

■ Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is not even waiting for the ink to dry on the latest Israel–PLO accord on Gaza and Jericho before taking an even riskier plunge with Syria. He told leaders of the Kibbutz movement on April 21 that peace was more important than "this or that group of settlements," and made it clear that this applied to settlements on the Golan Heights. Mr. Rabin is eager to strike a deal with Syria's Hafez Assad—once Israel's most ferocious foe—and he understands that President Assad won't make peace unless Israel concedes Syrian sovereignty over the entire Golan Heights, back to the pre–June 1967 borders. For the Israeli prime minister, the main strategic danger today comes from farther away—Iran and Iraq—and he sees deals with Syria and the Palestinians as consolidating Israel's position. Even so, it will be an enormous risk for Israel to concede Syria this strategic high ground, from which Syrian artillery shells used to rain down on Israeli farmers. Israel is likely to seek compensation in the form of strict provisions for demilitarization of the Golan, other limits on Syrian armaments, international and perhaps U.S. troops or observers as a buffer, plus all the panoply of peaceful diplomatic and economic relations. Keep your fingers crossed.

■ Republican campaign consultants turned down requests to help South Africa's Zulu party form a campaign strategy because the pleas came too late. Of

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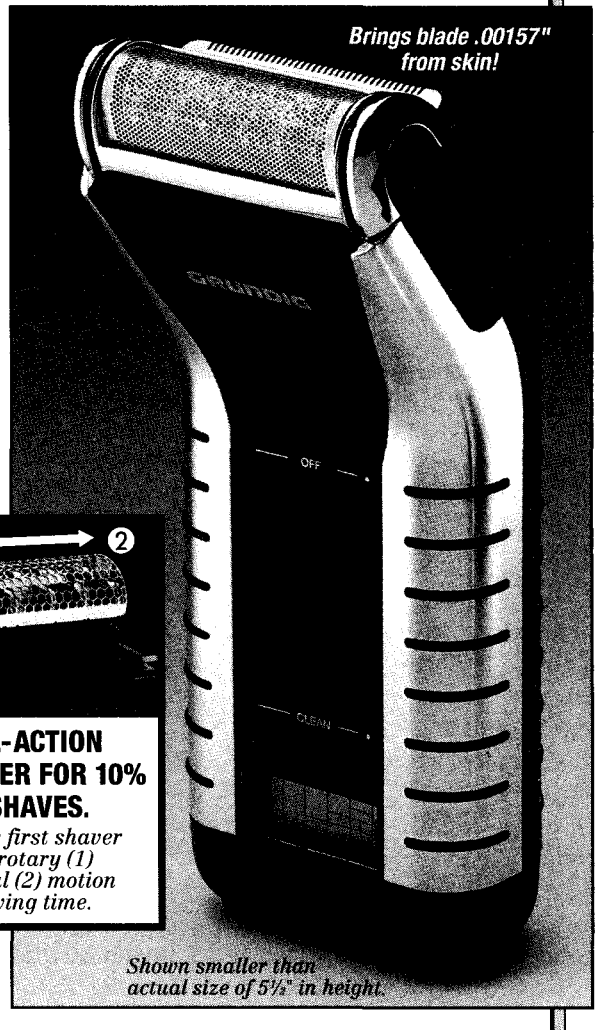

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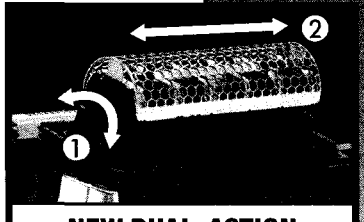

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course, a party with no strategy is just like the Republicans anyway.

■ The latest issue of the *Yale Free Press* is full of lines professionals would have been glad to write. "Clinton's Balkan policy seems to consist of [saying]: '"Be nice!" or I'll say, "Be nice!" again.'" "Clinton's desire to appoint a Cabinet that 'looks like America' resulted in the most painful and prolonged selection process ever. Tokenism gave us a Cabinet which is 29 per cent black and 14 per cent Hispanic, including six women and a dwarf." Finally, an ad from LITE-UP (Lungs In Trouble Everywhere Unleashing Phlegm): "Emphysema Does Not Discriminate! Lung Cancer Knows No Tobacco Orientation! . . . Only love and understanding can halt these killer diseases." Conservative campus journalists score again. When was the last time anyone enjoyed an official campus paper?

■ Of the Four Grand Slam events in tennis—Melbourne, Paris, Wimbledon, New York—the first three have retained their historic identity (Wimbledon is even still played on grass), while the standing of the U.S. Open is in plain decline. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has been wise to re-examine plans for a vast expansion of the National Tennis Center. The structure is a stylistic atrocity, its design late tollbooth. The courts do not have a uniform bounce; some have potholes. Part of the schedule is played under lights at night—in effect, a different tournament. The proposed new 23,000-seat stadium would be much too big, there being a limit to the distance from which it is worth while to watch tennis. The U.S. National Championships belong in the House That Tilden Built, the dignified old stadium in Forest Hills. And, as at Wimbledon, they should be returned to grass. The parking problems could be solved by shuttle buses, which would run from a parking lot to the acreage made available when the National Tennis Center is razed.

■ Authorities in Los Angeles have decreed that a shower used in a nude girlie show was illegal because it did not have the required wheelchair access.

Sowing the Wind

THE U.S.—or is it NATO? or is it the UN?—has bombed Serb positions around Gorazde in eastern Bosnia to force an end to the Serb siege of the Muslim city. The Serbs finally pulled back their artillery, after an assault that had killed at least seven hundred civilians, wounded more than two thousand, and left much of the city in ruins.

If this was a famous victory for our side, it was one we stumbled into. After an earlier bombing threat had induced the Serbs to leave Sarajevo, U.S. officials made it clear that they didn't intend to do anything anyplace else; this invited the Serbs to go after other cities, including the strategically located Gorazde. This was such an embarrassment that NATO was then obliged to rush to Gorazde's rescue and to promise to defend several other "safe havens."

The credibility of this new, broadened NATO commitment remains in doubt, however. Tactical airstrikes against mobile targets like artillery are notoriously ineffective, as *NR* has pointed out before. Even U.S. officials are reported to doubt that the Serbs will refrain from challenges to other cities or will be more compliant at the negotiating table. The weakness of the world community's position is only compounded by the confusion in the chain of command among the U.S., NATO, and the UN, with the UN at one point vetoing airstrikes that NATO commanders had recommended. As George Will has put it, we had a Japanese diplomat (UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi) working for an Egyptian civil servant (UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali) commanding a British general (UN local commander Lieutenant General Michael Rose) deciding when American planes would bomb and when they would not. Gorazde will not go down in history as a great vindication of the "multilateralism" (i.e., abdication of U.S. sovereignty) of which this Administration is so enamored.

The same slavish obeisance to multilateralism maintains the collective arms embargo against Bosnia: the Administration continues to insist that it can do nothing to help the Bosnians directly because it can't get the votes in the Security Council. The perversity of this argument is amply rebutted by the U.S. Congress (both Houses of which have voted to lift the embargo unilaterally), by Senator and former UN Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and by legal scholars who point out that Bosnia is being denied its legitimate and inherent right of self-defense.

The Administration's stubbornness on the arms embargo is only part of a larger perversity—the illogic of a policy that has deliberately eschewed any *strategic* military action that would decisively im-

Remains of the Day

The President, whose eyeballs glaze
When contemplating Europe's maze,
Will find that when Whitewater fades
And weary bimbos draw their shades,
What's recollected in the 'burbs
Is how he waffled with the Serbs.

W. H. VON DREELE

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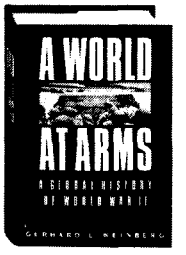

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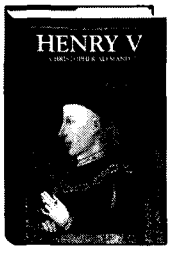

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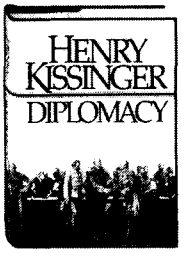

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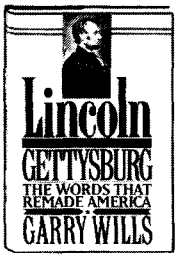

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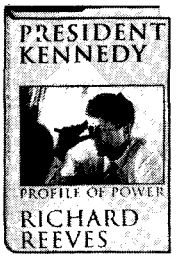

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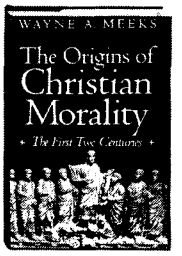

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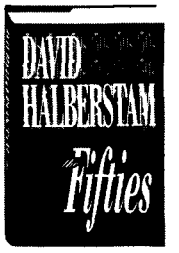

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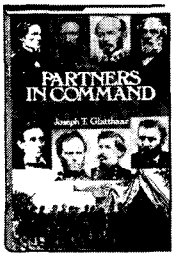

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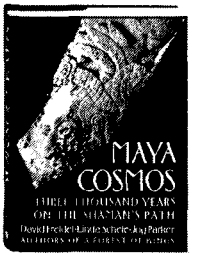

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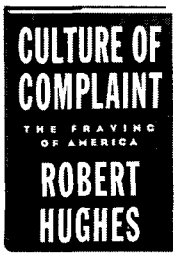

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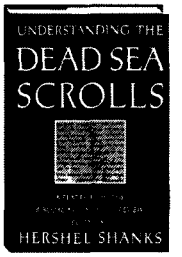

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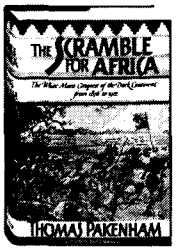

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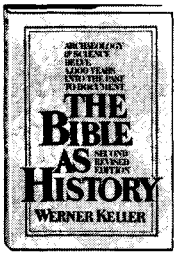

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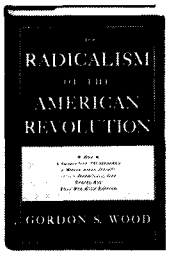

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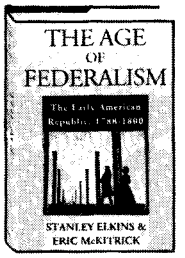

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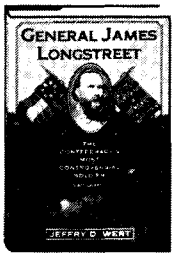

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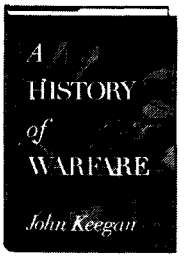

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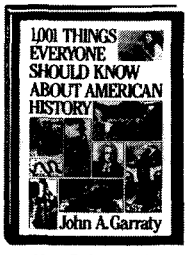

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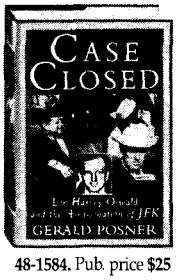

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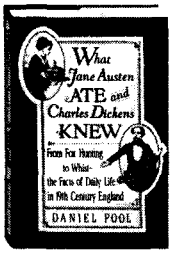

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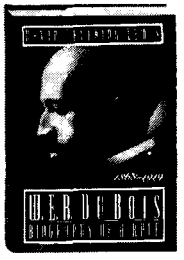

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prove the balance of forces on the ground and thereby forestall Serb aggression. Hence the resort to palliatives like intervening only to let relief convoys through. Hence the fundamental lack of credibility that invites the contemptuous Serb reaction we have seen. A strategic air campaign—against Serb logistics in Bosnia and against the Serb military machine and political leadership—might have had a better result.

Soon we can expect a flurry of new diplomatic activity. The Russians (as the Serbs' lawyer) and the U.S. (as the champion of all that is true and virtuous) have now supplanted the hapless UN–EC effort of Vance, Owen, & Stoltenberg. The big boys are now in charge, thank you. And both the big boys probably are ready for a deal—the Russians, because the Serbs have acquired all the territory they wanted to acquire, and the Americans, because Bill Clinton wants to concentrate on health care and is ready to pressure the Bosnians to accept a deal based on the status quo.

The good news is that such a settlement would end the killing (at least for a while). The bad news is that it would be patently unjust, ratifying the ill-gotten gains of "ethnic cleansing." It would, for that reason, be an unstable outcome in the long run, as the Muslims nursed their wounds and prepared for their revenge. Into this swamp the Clinton Administration has pledged to send 25,000 U.S. troops to help police a settlement—making us the Serbs' enforcers against an inevitably restive Muslim population.

And that's the optimistic scenario.

Me Too?

THE OTHER shoe dropped on health care, as other shoes will, though only a bold man would have predicted that it would drop so loudly. House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, denying that universal coverage could be financed by sin taxes or savings, called for a tax increase amounting to "tens of billions of dollars." "If we're serious about it," said Mr. Rostenkowski, ". . . we have to belly up to the bar and we have to ask the American people just how serious they are about it." But how serious are the Republicans about this issue, and about their role as an opposition party—indeed, about their continued existence as a party?

The Clintons' health-care proposal represents the greatest growth in federal power since the Great Society—perhaps since the New Deal. Prompted by Bill Kristol, the GOP took a promising step late last year when it attacked the Clinton plan head-on. But it has failed to make the necessary follow-up case: that the American private health-care system is basically sound, requiring only modest reforms; that we must take time to decide what those reforms should be, unswayed by a spurious atmosphere of crisis; and that those (i.e., Democrats) who urge sweeping changes actually want to make the American middle class one vast welfare client. This case is borne out by the fact that prices in the private sector are rising by roughly 4.5 per cent, whereas Medicare spending is still growing by more than 10 per cent, and its trust fund is again nearing bankruptcy.

What is the Republican response to these facts?

"Our sense of bipartisanship on health care is not to be for the next tax increase," said Newt Gingrich following Mr. Rostenkowski's bombshell. He's right about the taxes. But why is someone as tough as Mr. Gingrich still bedeviled by the rhetoric of bipartisanship?

The Republican urge to do something, anything, stems from a conviction that any appearance of intransigence will be punished at the polls this fall. Richard Thornburgh's loss to Harris Wofford in the special senatorial election in Pennsylvania in 1991 is still the controlling electoral paradigm. But, as is so often the case with self-styled practical men, the Republicans are actually, and impractically, behind the times. Numerous polls show a public increasingly hostile to the prospect of sweeping health-care change, and to the increase in coercion and expense that will result. Sixty-five per cent of Americans say that they would rather wait another year for reform than get it wrong now.

The last long phase of Republican me-tooism—from, roughly, Dwight Eisenhower up to Barry Goldwater—occurred over a period during which Americans felt at home in their own country. Government expansion was less resented, since government was not viewed as an occupying force. The cumulative effects of an overbearing state and an aloof elite have now had decades to settle in. The American people long for someone who will take their side against the governing class. Ronald Reagan understood this (most consistently, at the level of rhetoric). A new wave of me-tooism will only win Republicans minority status in an establishment increasingly resented and feared by the people it misrules.

John Conyers's Root Causes

THE House crime bill is the most expensive crime bill in the history of the United States—but it doesn't tackle crime. Instead, it lavishes funds upon anti-poverty programs, drug-treatment programs, education programs, and youth-activities programs (midnight basketball), to-

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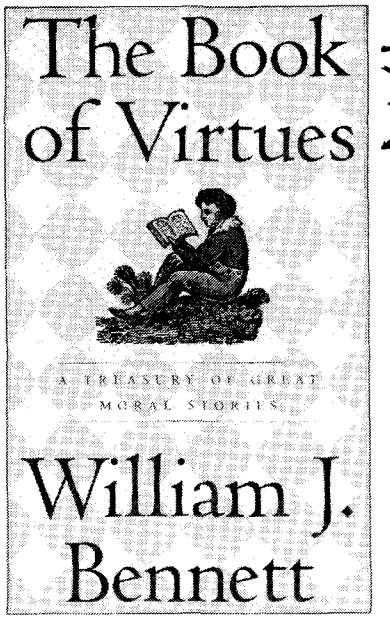

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taling $28 billion. Representative John Conyers explains its rationale: "Instead of trying to figure out new ways to punish people who act illegally, we're trying to do something to prevent them from entering into antisocial behavior."

Very creditable. But given Washington's previous record in addressing crime's "root causes," law-abiding citizens shouldn't hurry to dismantle their own security systems or trade in their .38s for a new pair of Reeboks.

The House bill exploits the American people's legitimate concerns about violent crime in order to secure the passage of yet one more omnibus spending measure. It would direct billions of dollars to urban areas like Washington and Detroit and Atlanta with few strings attached. "This is serious money," proclaims Representative Conyers. Serious about everything but fighting crime.

The Local Partnership provisions would dole out funds for education and health programs "related to crime prevention." The Model Intensive Grant provisions would award funds to cities to carry out neighborhood programs "related to crime prevention." "Anti-gang" provisions would funnel job-training and summer-recreation grants to the same areas. The Great Society with a nightstick.

At the same time, the bill is dressed up in the camouflage of dozens of new capital offenses designed to make it resemble a real anti-crime bill. Such provisions would be harmless enough—especially to murderers—given that the procedural liturgy attached to capital punishment makes it very unlikely that anyone will actually be executed. But the bill also includes a more dangerous provision called the "Racial Justice Act." The principal law-and-order contribution of the Black Caucus, this would establish in law the premise that something is rotten in the justice system if capital sanctions are found to apply disproportionately to persons of color.

Does capital punishment fall disproportionately on them? Of the 232 criminals executed since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976, 91 were black. This works out to 39 per cent—more than three times the percentage of blacks in the population as a whole. But in every year since 1976, the percentage of convicted homicides who were black has ranged from 44 to 52. So if any discrimination is going on, blacks benefit from it.

Does racism lie behind the fact that murderers of whites are more likely to be executed than murderers of blacks? This statistic could be skewed by the disposition of prosecutors and juries to be harsher on cop-killers and the fact that cops are overwhelmingly white. Anyway, if we try to execute more killers of blacks, we will end up executing—more blacks.

Liberals, of course, raise the issue not to increase the number of executions, but to undermine capital punishment. So the House crime bill allows inmates on death row to challenge their convictions on the grounds of racial injustice—what Bill McCollum (R., Fla.) rightly called "a quota system for death-penalty cases." Mr. McCollum's push to eliminate the provision failed, by a vote of 217 to 212, with five Republicans providing the margin of defeat. The statistically ignorant and easily bullied were: Sherwood Boehlert (N.Y.), Constance Morella (Md.), Jack Quinn (N.Y.), Christopher Shays (Conn.), and James Walsh (N.Y.), for whom the voters might want to consider their own form of termination.

The "Racial Justice Act" would further slow down a criminal-justice system that already operates at the speed of the approval processes of the Food & Drug Administration. By injecting irrelevant considerations, it would also give ACLU lawyers and their supporters on the bench further opportunity to overturn deserved criminal convictions on the basis of factors having nothing to do with guilt or innocence. The RJA does not stop at capital offenses but introduces the notion of "racial justice" (i.e., quotas) into other elements of the criminal-justice system, including narcotics offenses.

What is most tragic about all of this is the lost opportunity to do something significant about the problem of crime in the United States. The apparent national consensus on this issue is reflected in the House bill's ostensibly tough provisions on capital punishment and three-time violent offenders. The problem, however, is that Democrats on the Hill just do not join in this consensus. The influence of groups such as the ACLU, the NAACP, and the American Bar Association cannot be overstated.

The House bill will not make one city, one neighborhood, or one family any safer or more secure. But that is not its point. Rather, it is to make the re-elections of members of Congress safer and more secure. Given the usual Republican timorousness on these matters, it will probably succeed.

There They Go Again

WITH the appointments of liberal Keynesians Alan Blinder and Janet Yellen, the center of gravity at the Federal Reserve Board will be shifting leftward toward a softer dollar, easier money, and higher inflation. Well-credentialed academics with little or no experience in monetary policy, both are firm subscribers to the discredited Phillips Curve, which argues for a trade-off between inflation and unemployment. In other words, a little higher inflation is never a problem because it generates lower unemployment and stronger growth. This of course ignores the facts of recent economic history. Both inflation and unemployment increased sharply during the 1970s under

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the easy-money policies of Arthur Burns and G. William Miller; then both declined substantially in the 1980s and early 1990s under the hard-money policies of Paul Volcker and Alan Greenspan.

Mr. Blinder, who will become Vice Chairman of the Reserve Board, is a self-confessed "good Keynesian" and "inflation dove." A few weeks ago he told a meeting of money- and bond-market participants in New York that "there is no inflation." What's more, he has written that "4 per cent inflation is a minor irritant that is better tolerated than eliminated." Should inflation ever exceed 4 per cent, then he would prefer wage and price controls, or an incomes policy, to halt its rise. Not long ago he wrote: "The older I get, the less respect I have for the signals emitted by our vaunted speculative markets." As such, not only will he oppose the Fed's goals of near-zero inflation and general price stability, he will also disregard early-warning inflation indicators thrown off by commodity, gold, bond, and foreign-exchange markets. This will put him at loggerheads with Chairman Alan Greenspan, who last February told Congress that gold is a useful indicator of inflation, and that "things were a lot better in many respects back when we had stable gold prices."

Miss Yellen, an expert in East German labor markets before the Berlin Wall fell, is a protégée of Nobel Laureate James Tobin, a Yale professor who has been one of Mr. Greenspan's strongest critics. Like her close friend CEA Chairman Laura Tyson, herself a specialist in the Cold War Rumanian economy, Miss Yellen sees no future inflation threat in the United States. Indeed, only two weeks ago Miss Tyson argued in a lengthy *New York Times* op-ed—without ever mentioning the word *money*—that the present inflation threat was a myth.

Perhaps so, but broad commodity indexes have increased over 10 per cent in the past year, while gold has jumped 15 per cent, about the same magnitude as the decline in government bond prices, where yields jumped from 5¾ per cent last autumn to about 7¼ per cent currently. When combined with a weak dollar and double-digit Federal Reserve credit creation, these would appear to be ample warnings that future inflation will be significantly above the current pace. As an added warning, this winter the producer price index rose at a 3.9 per cent annual rate. Supply-siders believe that markets contain more wisdom and information than even the best-trained Keynesian economic planners. This proposition has been tested more times than one may care to remember. But here we go again.

The Mrs. Strikes Back

Adopting Gergen's stratagem,
On Friday last at 3:00 P.M.
She parried queries from the press
With down-home charm and artlessness,
But what with NATO set to blast
And Mr. Nixon sinking fast,
On Saturday (the Gergen touch)
The papers didn't carry much.

W. H. VON DREELE

Blowing Smoke

ONE OF the more absurd shows staged in Washington recently was an inquisition of chief executives of the cigarette companies. Representatives Henry Waxman, Mike Synar, and Ron Wyden, who called the hearings, were not really interested in what their witnesses had to say. The CEOs were there simply as props in a cheap political theater—dummies to be berated and belittled. When they tried to answer questions they were cut off. The questions themselves were frequently just abusive statements.

Interestingly, the hearings were orchestrated by a supposed civil servant, Food & Drug Administration chief David Kessler. The first thing to note is that tobacco is none of Dr. Kessler's business. It isn't food, obviously. The "drug" in Food & Drug Administration refers to pharmaceutical drugs for which a therapeutic medical claim is made. Tobacco has always been, and formally still is, the regulatory province of the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF). That agency, however, disgraced itself last year with its farcical, and tragic, attempt to become a commando-style slayer of religious cultists. In the ashes of Waco, David Kessler saw an opportunity to expand his regulatory turf.

Even though nine-tenths of smokers don't die of lung cancer, there are clearly health dangers in cigarettes, dangers so constantly warned about that smokers are clearly aware that these dangers are the price they pay for the enjoyment and relaxation they get from smoking. As mortals we make all kinds of trade-offs between health and living. We drive automobiles knowing that forty thousand people die in them in the U.S. each year; we cross busy streets, tolerate potentially explosive gas in our homes, swim in fast-moving rivers, use electricity though it kills thousands, and eat meat and other foods that may clog our arteries and give us heart attacks and strokes. All the Kessler demagoguery about the tobacco industry killing people could be applied with similar validity to the automobile industry, the electric utilities, aircraft manufacturers, the meat business, and more.

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WE AGREE MR. PRESIDENT

"The American people provide those of us in government service with terrific health care benefits at reasonable costs. We have health care that's always there. I think we need to give every hard-working, taxpaying American the same health care security they have already given to us."

The State of the Union, January 25, 1994

President Clinton was talking about the Federal Employees Health Benefits (FEHB) Program, which covers nearly 10 million federal employees, retirees and their dependents. The 34-year-old program allows them to choose among dozens of competing health-care plans, with different costs and benefits; works with a minimum of regulation; and because it relies on the principles of choice and competition, has successfully controlled costs.

But that is NOT what President Clinton has proposed. In fact, his legislation exempts federal employees until January 1998. That's right. HHS Secretary Donna Shalala, members of Congress, and most members of Hillary Rodham Clinton's health-reform task force would NOT be included in Mr. Clinton's government-run health plan until all other Americans try it out first.

With modification, an FEHB-type system could be created to cover all Americans. In fact, that is exactly what the Consumer Choice Health Plan proposed by The Heritage Foundation does.

NEW REPUBLIC columnist Michael Kinsley called the Heritage plan, ". . . the simplest, most promising, and in an important way, most progressive idea for health-care reform."

And ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE Editorial Page Editor and syndicated columnist Paul Greenberg wrote, "If the President is interested in a plan that will provide universal coverage, allow Americans to take our health insurance with us wherever we go and not tie it to our jobs, give folks their choice of insurance plans from basic to deluxe, control costs through competition, and use vouchers to provide basic coverage for those too poor to pay premiums. . . all the President has to do is call (202) 546-4400. That's The Heritage Foundation."

Legislation based on the same principles—the Consumer Choice Health Security Act—is now before the House and Senate. Introduced by Sen. Don Nickles of Oklahoma and Rep. Cliff Stearns of Florida, the legislation (S. 1743; H.R. 3698) has 25 Senate and 24 House co-sponsors.

Before the "reformers" ruin everything that is right about health care in America, we need to ask them: Why reinvent the wheel? Why not let all Americans have the kind of personal freedom the President and Congress have— a consumer choice health plan.

For more information on Consumer Choice: A National Health System for *all* Americans, write The Heritage Foundation, Box E, 214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

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But Dr. Kessler is basing his bid to regulate tobacco on the claim he has evidence that tobacco companies are manipulating nicotine levels to produce addiction in smokers. The claim does not stand up to the most cursory scrutiny, as those congressional hearings last week showed. In efforts to reduce the hazards of cigarettes while still offering a product smokers will buy, the manufacturers have been steadily reducing the tar their cigarettes produce. Average tar in a cigarette has declined from 40 mg. in 1950 to 12 mg. now. The nicotine has gone down too—from 2.8 mg. to 0.8 mg. If the companies were intent on maintaining an addiction, then they would not have been reducing the supposedly addictive ingredient. Nor would forty million people have quit smoking since 1974, as they have done, according to the Feds' own data. Nor were they put into treatment. They just stopped. They were sloughing off a pleasurable habit, not breaking an addiction.

Dr. Kessler has attacked the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company for not using processes, on which it has patents, that completely dissociate tar and nicotine. Reynolds's CEO, James W. Johnston, explained in the congressional hearings that the company is working on such cigarettes but has not been able to make one that smokers will buy. Smokers apparently get enjoyment from some nicotine—the way most coffee drinkers get pleasure from the caffeine, or drinkers enjoy the alcohol in whisky. Reynolds's "Premier" in 1988 and Philip Morris's "DeNic" around 1990 were serious attempts to sell low-tar and low-nicotine cigarettes respectively. Both failed to attract smokers, and instead of being welcomed by the health crowd, they earned their sponsors new tirades of abusive demagoguery. The supposed health advocates don't really want healthier cigarettes. They want to stop cigarette smoking.

David Kessler has a characteristically disingenuous line. He agrees that simple prohibition of cigarettes is not feasible but says he wants to regulate them. That could be a distinction without a difference, since the Kessler mindset—arrogant, paternalistic, and quite contemptuous of individual rights—would regulate cigarettes into unsaleability. Such a result would spawn a black market in unregulated cigarettes just as surely as prohibition. It is a formula for another war on drugs with all the accompanying crime, corruption, and waste.

For Dick Cheney

An atlas doesn't bore him.
He isn't on a fringe.
The generals adore him.
He swings, but on a hinge.
He's comforting to look at.
He's at home on the Hill.
I think he'd throw the book at
Socks, Hillary, and Bill.

W. H. VON DREELE

Ralph Ellison, R I P

RALPH ELLISON'S *Invisible Man* (1952) is one of the great works in American literature. In it he explored the pains and ambivalences of black American experience, but he did so within the literary discipline of the modern movement. His best-known competition for the title of foremost black American novelist consisted mostly of James Baldwin and Richard Wright, neither of whom wrote a great novel (although David Bradley's largely neglected *Chaneysville Incident* may well belong up there with *Invisible Man*).

The interesting question about Ellison can be put this way: Are you a great novelist if you have written only one great novel? For greatness, an *oeuvre* may be necessary. Is Emily Brontë a great novelist, with only—only!—*Wuthering Heights*?

But wait. When Ralph Ellison died recently of cancer, at eighty, he had almost completed an enormous novel of a thousand or more pages. He had the talent and the skills. When this novel finally appears, all who care about literature hope that it will buttress his claims to greatness.

Richard Nixon, R I P

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE once remarked that all public figures come to be associated with a single achievement, never mind how complex their career. And, true, we can say about Lincoln that he won the Civil War, about Edison that he harnessed electricity, about FDR that he created the New Deal. But with what achievement will Richard Nixon be associated, a generation from now? A negative achievement: he is the only American President in history to be kicked out of office. Even so, in America and in much of the world, he was the dominant political figure. It can happen only to a man who takes very large strides in history, that he could win re-election with a runaway majority, and in less than two years leave the White House in greater ignominy than was ever before suffered by a departing American President.

His excommunication from public life was so decisive, his subsequent return has to be credited to him alone, the most spectacular reopening in contemporary political history. Remarkable not only because

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he came back, so to speak, into power, but that he did so notwithstanding the implacability of those who were hostile to him. In the darkest days of August 1974, it looked unlikely that a single member of the press corps could be persuaded to be civil to Richard Nixon. Ten years later, after he addressed their convention in Washington, he was given a standing ovation.

It is an important part of his singular story that, really, he disposed of no spectacular personal talent. He was not a great orator, nor a great writer. His one professional skill he was formally disbarred from using. He had only the force of his extraordinary personality, his unswerving determination to succeed, and his mastery of the political craft. He competed during his career in forty state political primaries. He lost one.

Alexander Haig was his chief of staff when Nixon left the White House. "As you'd have guessed," General Haig reminisced a few years ago, "when Nixon got to Casa Pacifica in California late that afternoon in August, his White House line was still connected. He was in a daze: President of the United States until noon; one minute later—nothing. He was master of a villa which, without a President to preside over it, was simply a big house on the Pacific Ocean. But when Nixon got there, he used the telephone to the White House exactly as he'd been doing for six years. He must have called ten, fifteen times a day, and of course the White House operators didn't want to be responsible for breaking the trance, so they'd put him straight through to me, as though I were still his chief of staff."

How did he get the message that it was all over?

"On the fifth day I recognized that reality had to get to him. So when he called the next morning, I told the operator to put him on hold . . . It had the magical effect, the necessary effect. Suddenly he realized he wasn't President."

But Mr. Nixon didn't abandon his sense of priorities, the first being to tell his story and to make a living for his family. A day or so later he reached by telephone, in Geneva, Irving Lazar. The exchange was as follows.

"Mr. Lazar, you are known as the number-one agent in America."

"Well, thank you very much, Mr. President. Yes, I suppose I'd have to own up to that reputation."

"Well, I'd like to see you tomorrow morning here in California."

"Mr. President! I have five days' appointments backed up here in Europe, appointments made weeks and months ago!"

"I take it you do not want to handle my memoirs? I have been told by someone who knows his way around in the publishing world that my memoirs may be worth as much as a million dollars . . ."

"Of course I'd be glad to handle your memoirs, but there simply is no way I can get to you by tomorrow."

"Well then, make it the day after tomorrow."

Irving Lazar finally succeeded, so to speak, in putting President Nixon on hold, but by the time he got to Casa Pacifica a week later, he arrived with contracts for two and one-half million dollars.

Nixon had begun the return journey. Retirement suited him singularly well. Henry Kissinger, in his own memoirs, remarked on how little Nixon actually enjoyed the life he had struggled so hard to achieve in the White House. He hated meeting with the press, hated state functions. He engaged in much that chiefs of state engage in with a visible detestation of ceremony and light talk.

That now was all gone, and he had only his tiny staff, his yellow pads, and the publishers, waiting for book after book. He resumed those travels he did enjoy—briefing foreigners, being briefed by them; renewing the company of men and women he had met when he was sun-king.

Gradually the agents of power everywhere in the world acknowledged that Richard Nixon's prestige did not derive exclusively from the office of President. He had a feeling for the American political scene invaluable to those who needed a confident grasp of it. And although meetings with Mr. Nixon would (except for two, perhaps three of his closest friends) never be confused with going down to the club and having a drink with old Tricky Dick, his company was thought rewarding by the men and women who ran the affairs of Europe, the Soviet Union, and Asia. He did not deceive them about what to expect from America, or indeed from Richard Nixon. When most recently he visited Moscow and Yeltsin canceled an appointment, indignant because Nixon had given interviews to Russian rivals, the sympathy was immediately with Nixon, rather than with his host: Nixon was being Nixon, and that, after all, was why he continued to be so eminent a figure. It did not surprise the diplomatic community that Yeltsin backed down, and that one of the earliest tributes logged by the hospital in New York, bidding Nixon adieu, was from Boris Yeltsin.

IN AMERICA, Nixon was always thought of as a towering figure of the conservative camp, yet this was so only when the perspectives were narrowly confined. At the earliest conspicuous moment in his career, he had been spotted as the man who believed Whittaker Chambers, and disbelieved Alger Hiss. During the Fifties, the anti-Communists mobilized against the anti-anti-Communists, and when Eisenhower permitted himself to reveal that he had not yet decided whether to put Nixon back on the ticket in 1956, the American Right spoke threateningly to General Eisenhower, who had learned all about force majeure at West Point; and Nixon stayed

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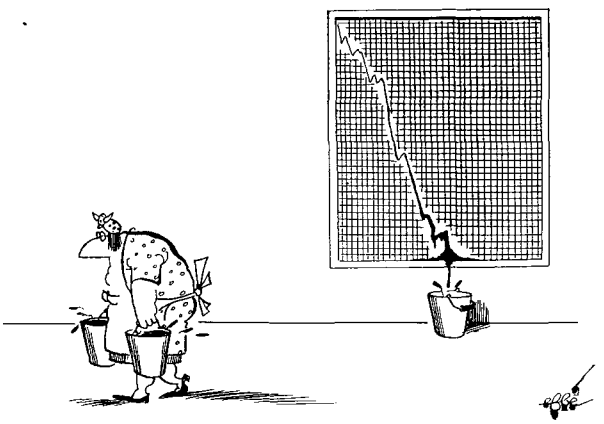

on. During the Goldwater upheaval, Nixon was the loyalist, but he had learned in 1962, in California, the lesson he never forgot. He was driving through Central Park in 1967 after a television program and told his companion, "I learned in 1962 that you can't do without the support of conservatives. But I learned also that you can't win with just the conservatives."

One year later he won the Presidency. During those ill-fated years he lost the Vietnam War, pulled out of the Bretton Woods alliance, declared wage and price controls, and traveled to China, where he toasted the achievements of Mao Tse-tung. Not exactly a majestic roll for a right-wing American President. For all the talk about the triumphant resumption of diplomatic relations with China, it has never been clear just what was achieved by going to Peking in 1972, instead of waiting another few years until Mao, and the Cultural Revolution, had run their course. Indeed, one more remarkable achievement of Richard Nixon is how he earned the special affection and admiration of U.S. conservatives without ever significantly advancing their cause.

In the final analysis, he was a heroic, intensely personal figure, whose life was lived on the public stage. He was at once the weakest of men, and the strongest; a master of self-abuse, and of self-recovery. Stained by worldliness, and driven by the hunger to serve. For Americans under seventy, there never was a world without Richard Nixon. Not many people can pitch whole generations into loneliness, as he has now done, R.I.P. —WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I purchased your 1994 calendar to improve my vocabulary. However, in thumbing through the calendar I did not find any words that I care to use.

Thought you would like to know.

T. Ron Gewin
Statesville, N.C.

Dear Mr. Gewin: Thanks very much. . . . Why don't you consider putting out a calendar containing 365 words you are glad to know? Put me down as one subscriber. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Bill:

Speaking of governors of Tennessee . . . We have had some good ones, and I always think of Robert Love Taylor, who was governor several times. He tried to persuade my father to back the Reform ticket. He told Papa about a young man up in Happy Valley who ran for the Legislature some thirty years ago and was defeated in every race. He finally despaired and concluded he would try suicide. He went to the store and bought a rope, a can of coal oil, a box of matches, a dose of arsenic, and a revolver.

Then he went down to the river, pushed his boat from the shore and floated down to where a limb hung over. He got up in the bow of the boat, tied one end of the rope around the limb and the other around his neck, swallowed the dose of arsenic, saturated his clothes with coal oil, struck a match and lighted it, and then fired a revolver at his head.

But the bullet cut the rope above him, he fell kerwhollop into the river, the water put out the fire, and he swallowed enough water to make him cough up the poison. Then he crawled out and declared himself a candidate for the Legislature on the Reform ticket.

Yours ever,
Charles Wallen Jr.
Millbrae, Calif.

Dear Charles: Fascinating. Poor Vince Foster bungled a much easier operation. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

NATIONAL REVIEW needs something a little bit more. I don't mean anything more with respect to the commentary, impeccable as it is, but something that would add to *NR*'s personality. The emblems of *Foreign Affairs* (the horseman), the *Atlantic* (Poseidon riding the waves), and *The New Republic* (a galleon on the high seas) give those periodicals a distinguished image.

Perhaps the time has come when NATIONAL REVIEW should adopt its own distinctive badge. Maybe a bust of Edmund Burke with a quill above his head with some Latin, "*Annuit coeptis*"? Or a phoenix descending from the heavens? An armor-clad crusader atop his charging steed? Think it over.

Respectfully yours,
Chris A. Varones
Orland Park, Ill.

Dear Mr. Varones: I like the idea. Herewith an invitation to everyone to nominate an appropriate ideolographic logo. Cordially, **—WFB**

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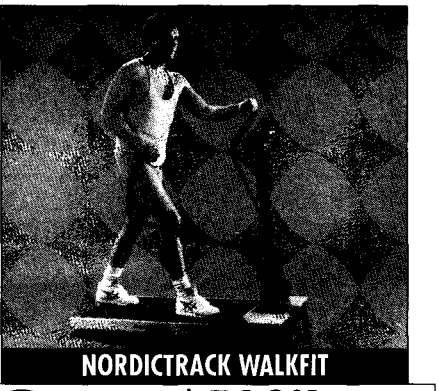

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6	Adjustable Height on Arm Exercise Poles	YES Adjust to fit your height for most effective workout.	NO Not adjustable. You'll have to use the one height they give you.
7	Electronic Workout Monitor	YES 7-function monitor tracks your workout progress.	YES **BUT...** Are you sure you want to spend $300 more than HEALTHMAX TREADMILL?
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ON THE SCENE

On the Supply Side

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

Mikhail Zlatkovsky

WOULDN'T it make sense to the average taxpaying voter if the current Washington effort to "end welfare as we know it" actually produced less, rather than more, federal spending for welfare? Not a chance. Instead, the Clinton Administration is about to propose a plan that will cost at least $35 billion more than current plans and by 2000 may total $60 billion above current plans. Despite New Democrat rhetoric about "two years and you're out," the social engineers in HHS and the White House are coming up with a massive bureaucratized entitlement for day-care spending, along with expanded job training, with only a small percentage of welfare recipients actually subject to workfare provisions.

Unfortunately, an early plan from House Republicans, authored by Pennsylvania Senate hopeful Rick Santorum and Connecticut Representative Nancy Johnston, is far too timid: five years and you're still not really out. This proposal creates a new entitlement of $6,000 for each person moving from welfare to workfare. Its off-budget scoring mechanism will result in huge out-year spending increases. And though it does provide for a 2-percent-plus-inflation cap on five welfare programs (AFDC, SSI, EITC, food stamps, and housing allowances), the cap is not legally binding.

What is more, the Santorum–Johnston proposal deals very lightly with spiraling out-of-wedlock births. It requires mothers under 18 to live at home, has inadequately enforced paternity requirements, and gives states the option of limiting AFDC for mothers under 18. But most illegitimate births occur to women between the ages of 19 to 21. And would states ever deny themselves federal funding by exercising the AFDC option?

None of this generates the "more deterrents, greater social stigma, and more economic penalties" advocated by William Bennett. Nor does it meet the criteria set out by Charles Murray, who argues that welfare will never truly be reformed until it is extinguished. Following their lead, Empower America (where Bennett, Jack Kemp, and Vin Weber perch in opposition) sharply criticized the House GOP proposal and urged a "bold, principled, and fundamentally different alternative."

The Empower America approach emphasizes much tougher limitations for welfare assistance to unwed mothers, stronger workfare provisions, and stiff spending caps. Additionally, at the urging of Jack Kemp, the organization's plan contains strong economic-growth provisions for blighted urban and rural areas, including the elimination of capital-gains and payroll taxes and the encouragement of commercial bank lending to minority entrepreneurs in those areas.

Republicans will ultimately come up with a tough alternative to the Clinton proposal, for it is hard to overstate the failure of the U.S. welfare system. Since the mid-1960s, federal, state, and local government spending on welfare, measured in 1992 dollars, has increased nearly eight-fold, from $37 billion in 1965 to $305 billion in 1992. All told, spending on "greater welfare" (to borrow columnist Ben Wattenberg's term) has cumulatively totaled a staggering $4.9 trillion. Welfare has grown from 1.5 per cent of gross domestic product in 1965 to 4 per cent currently.

Looking ahead, according to the Congressional Budget Office's January 1994 baseline projections, mandatory spending on means-tested programs is expected to rise by $114 billion between now and 1999—9.2 per cent annually, or three times the expected inflation rate. All this after an "end welfare as we know it" bill in 1988, and two budget "deals of the century" in 1990 and 1993.

What have Americans gotten for this? More welfare recipients (Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation estimates that the total welfare population may be something like 60 million people) and rising social pathologies, including drug abuse, crime, and violence. For instance, the out-of-wedlock birth-rate had increased from 5.3 per cent in 1960 to 29.5 per cent in 1991, including a 67.9 per cent rate among blacks; and the number of violent crimes has risen from 288,000 in 1960 to nearly two million in 1992.

It is time to spend less, while creating both incentives for traditional two-parent families and penalties for unwed mothers. This is exactly the approach taken in a new proposal sponsored by Republicans Lauch Faircloth, Charles Grassley, and Hank Brown in the Senate, and Representatives James Talent, Tim Hutchinson, and Charles Canady in the House. On illegitimacy, the Faircloth–Talent bill stipulates that one year after enactment unwed mothers age 21 and younger would receive no direct welfare payments except Medicaid: no AFDC, no food stamps, no public-housing assistance. Four years after the bill passes, the cut-off age would be raised to 26.

The budget savings from this reform would be allocated to the states in the form of a block grant designed to pro-

Mr. Kudlow is NR*'s economics editor.*

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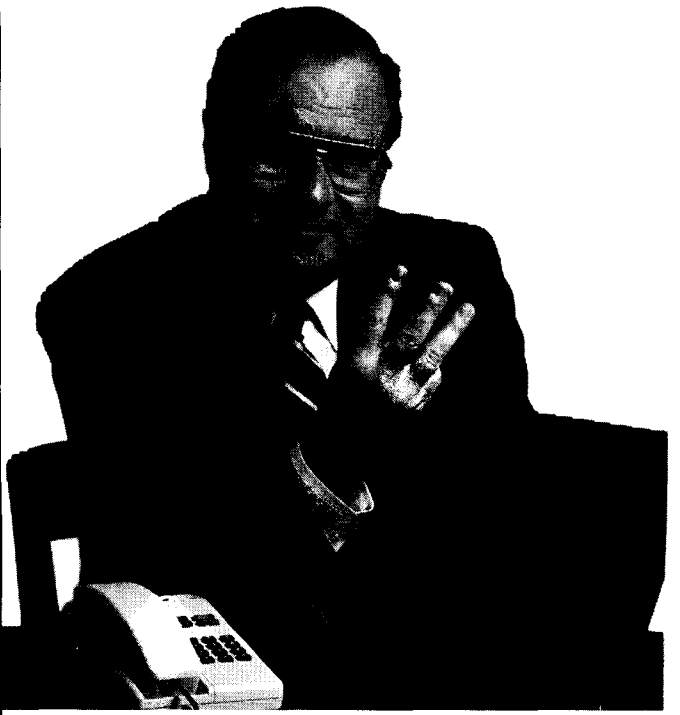

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vide help to orphanages, adoption, or group homes. However, these federal funds could not be spent for abortions or conventional welfare subsidies. For any unwed mothers currently on welfare, if they had additional children they would be ineligible for welfare increases. What's more, the bill would create a $1,000 partially refundable tax credit for working married couples with children.

On the budget side, Faircloth–Talent would create an enforceable aggregate cap of 3½ per cent per year for a new block grant of 76 different federal means-tested programs that currently total $170 billion. That would achieve an estimated cost savings of $90 billion over five years, which would then be turned over to the states. For workfare, the bill proposes that one parent in every two-parent family receiving AFDC must work. All single able-bodied individuals receiving food stamps must work, and all absent fathers who fail to pay child support for kids on welfare would have to perform community-service work. Finally, single mothers currently on AFDC whose children are over age five (about half of all AFDC single mothers) would have to do community-service work by 1996. All told, 4.4 million welfare recipients would have to participate in work programs by 1996.

One additional point never properly addressed by welfare reformers is the desperate need to teach children, especially those in inner cities, the traditional moral values necessary to carry them through successful daily living—personal responsibility, discipline, abstinence, thrift, hard work, respect for others, and spiritual faith.

One of the most innovative approaches is used by the Darrell Green Learning Center in Washington, D.C. Founded by the Washington Redskins all-pro cornerback, the center is an after-school program that teaches behavior and moral character, as well as the academic skills of reading, writing, and math. It is exactly the sort of local self-help program that should be eligible for public funding under flexible block grants, or vouchers, or even tax credits for private contributors.

Indeed, some combination of the Faircloth–Talent bill and the Empower America proposals, plus the Green self-help moral and academic program, should be stitched together by the Republican Party as its own version of welfare reform. Halfway measures such as the Santorum plan, though better than nothing and much better than Clinton's reform, are simply insufficient.

Democrats will never sign off on such a major redirection of policy—not even Senator Moynihan, arguably the most important welfare-reform player in Washington. Mr. Moynihan's analysis of social issues is frequently prescient, but his voting record speaks differently: against workfare in 1988, 1992, and 1993; against learnfare in 1992; against drug-testing and rehabilitation in 1993. Indeed, referring to the views of Charles Murray and Empower America, Mr. Moynihan recently told the *New York Times*, "This kind of thing is simply not going to happen."

Indeed, the Republicans should sharpen, not blur, their differences with Democrats on welfare reform—and on health care, crime, and job training, which, as Dan Rostenkowski has indiscreetly confirmed, the Clinton Democrats view as opportunities for new open-ended entitlements funded by huge tax increases. Though Republicans will lose in this congressional session, they may be able to filibuster or defeat an expansion of the status quo. The electorate, still awaiting an alternative vision from the GOP, is more than willing to wait another year until a new Congress provides a real solution. □

Laying the Nazi Ghost

RICHARD GRENIER

VERSAILLES

A FRENCH law court is curiously monarchic. The Presiding Magistrate, in red robe with ermine trim, sits on high, asking almost all the questions. On either side of him are two more judges, black-robed. And beside the three judges are the nine jurors. To convict, only a simple majority—five of the nine jurors—is required, and at the close of the *audience* ("trial" seems an imperfect translation), the jurors withdraw and conduct their deliberations under the supervision of the Presiding Magistrate, who withdraws right along with them. In France, the "hung" jury is almost unknown. For in a French criminal trial the accused faces the majesty of the French state. The Menendez brothers wouldn't have had a chance.

And the majesty of the French state is what seemed necessary to try and convict Paul Touvier. Eichmann was tried and executed in Jerusalem. Klaus Barbie, a German, was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment in Lyon, France. But Paul Touvier is a Frenchman, who in his person has reminded France of a dark page in its history: its massive collaboration with the German Occupation. The flamboyant Jacques Attali, a former close advisor to President François Mitterrand (with whom he has broken) enraged many Frenchmen by declaring that France itself was the guilty party in the Touvier trial. Since the war, he said, the country has been subjected to a "double mystification" for which he holds two presidents responsible: de Gaulle and Mitterrand. "De Gaulle led Frenchmen to believe that they were all members of the Resistance, whereas they were generally collaborators. Mitterrand led Frenchmen to believe that during the war they were on the Left, whereas they were on the Right." This double deception has hidden the truth. "France collaborated," Attali declared. "And it wasn't a conspiracy of a few men who usurped power, as is claimed, but exactly the opposite. It was the entire French elite that organized the whole thing." As can be imagined, France has been in an uproar, the most outraged of all being the genuine leaders of the French Resistance.

Paul Touvier, now 79, was a regional director of *La Milice*, a French organization set up on the model of the Gestapo. When in 1942 Vichy's Minister of Information, Philippe Henriot, was assassinated by the Resistance, Touvier in reprisal ordered the death by firing squad of seven hostages. If members of the Resistance had caught Touvier in the first days

Mr. Grenier is a columnist with the Washington Times. *His latest book is* Capturing the Culture: Film, Art, and Politics.

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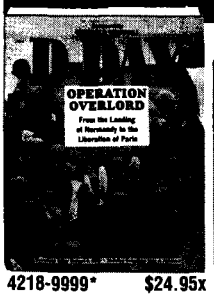

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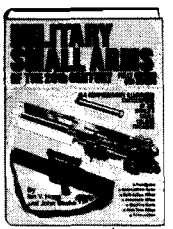

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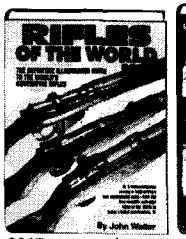

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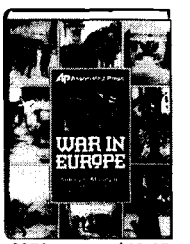

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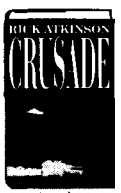

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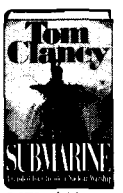

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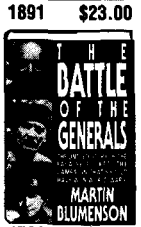

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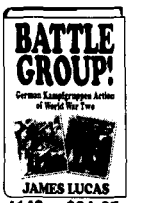

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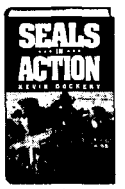

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after the Liberation they would have stood him against a wall and shot him like countless other collaborators, and there would have been no questions asked. But Touvier escaped, and even beyond the general amnesty for *faits de guerre* passed to achieve "national reconciliation," Touvier was specifically amnestied by President Georges Pompidou, his hostage killing judged to be a routine "war crime."

But the French today distinguish between a simple war crime (killing prisoners, hostages, innocent women and children, etc.) and a "crime against humanity," which justified trying Paul Touvier all over again after more than fifty years.

Touvier himself, like Eichmann, was for many days in a bullet-proof glass cage during the trial. Hundreds of security troops cordoned off not only the courthouse at Versailles but the whole area for a block around. The *Avocat Général*, the chief prosecutor, also red-robed, sat on high, directly across from Touvier and his lawyers.

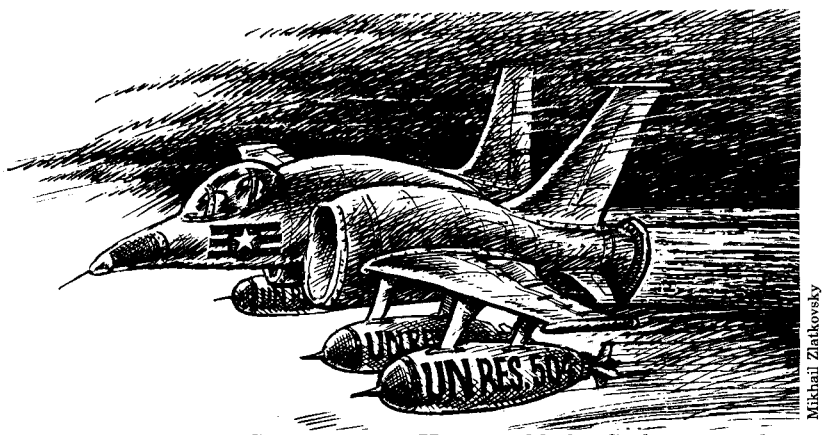
Another peculiarity of the French system, much imitated on the Continent, is that attorneys for the victims, known as the *partie civile*, also have their say in a criminal trial. And in this hugely publicized case, no fewer than thirty black-robed attorneys (representing the victims' families, organizations of the Resistance, veterans, the Rights of Man . . .), many wearing the rosette of the Legion of Honor, also sat facing Touvier. And on Wednesday, April 20, after a five-week trial and a highly expeditious jury deliberation, Paul Touvier was found guilty and sentenced to spend the remainder of his life in prison.

But what is a crime against humanity? The seven men Touvier had shot were, of course, Jews. An eighth hostage, originally destined to be executed as well, appeared at the trial to testify that Touvier had spared him because he was a Gentile—as he had spared other Gentiles. I myself put in most of a week at the trial, and have no doubt from the evidence (despite his denials) that Touvier was a fierce anti-Semite, and that it had personally gratified him to order the execution of Jews, whom he called at the time *ordure juive*, "Jewish garbage." But why it is more inhuman to kill a Jew (however unjustly) than to kill any other Frenchman (equally unjustly) has been debated compulsively in France for months. The answer lies in the motivation, the killer's purpose—not unlike the new U.S. laws against "hate crimes."

Interestingly, France's famous "Napoleonic Code"—so clearly composed that Stendhal read an article or two every day to clarify his style—has just been rewritten. The new *Code Pénal*, which went into effect only this March, contains a chapter on Crimes Against Humanity, the first of which is genocide, which is defined as actions in execution of a "concerted plan to destroy wholly or in part any national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, or group defined by any other arbitrary criterion." As at Nuremberg, there was no getting around the *ex post facto* nature of the judgment. "There are some crimes so terrible," said a bright young French law student writing a dissertation on the case, "that they should be punished even if there are no previous laws against them." And, indeed, as at Nuremberg, that seemed to be the spirit of the entire enterprise. A stain must be removed from the French national honor, and, despite the dubious legal innovations, for the French nation that goal seems to have been achieved. □

Chronicle of a Massacre Foretold

CHANDLER ROSENBERGER



Mikhail Zlatkovsky

ZAGREB, CROATIA

FORGET for a moment how many times the Clinton Administration has failed to see the consequences of its mistakes in Bosnia. The disaster in the Muslim enclave of Gorazde shows that the White House cannot even see where its *achievements* are likely to lead.

In early March the U.S. ambassador to Croatia struck the diplomatic coup of the year. Pushing aside useless negotiations with all three parties to the war in Bosnia, Peter Galbraith got the two victims of Serb aggression—the Croats and the Muslims—to end their ten-month war. Zagreb's ambitions to divide Bosnia with Belgrade were stymied. Suddenly it seemed that the brutal construction of "Greater Serbia" could be stopped.

But the deal was fraught with danger. How would the Serbs respond to the reunion of their foes? There were good geographical reasons to think the Bosnian Serb Army would go back on the offensive.

Serbs outside of the "rump Yugoslavia" are divided by political and military lines into three areas. Furthest west is the Serb Republic of Krajina, a paramilitary state on occupied Croatian land. Just over the Bosnian border to the east lies the Serb stronghold around Banja Luka, the massive heart of Serbian Bosnia. Then there is eastern Bosnia, once largely Muslim but, thanks to brutal ethnic cleansing, now a Serbian sea around three UN "safe areas" and almost completely surrounding Sarajevo.

So far, so good, as far as the builders of "Greater Serbia" see things. But there were (and fortunately still are) two "problems." The largest chunk of Serb-held land—the Krajina/Banja Luka strongholds—is almost com-

Mr. Rosenberger is a Fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs.

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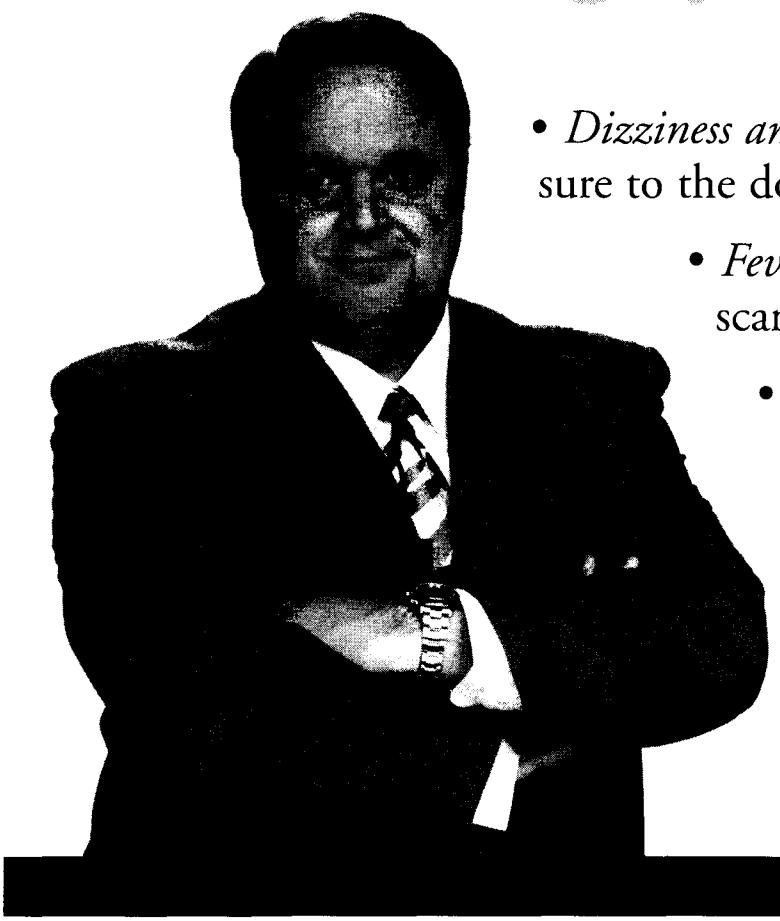

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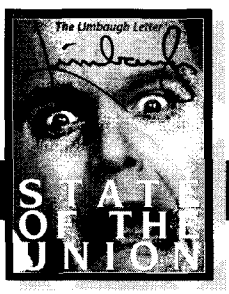

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pletely surrounded by Croats or Muslims. Although a mere 10 per cent of Bosnia, the Muslim territory sticks like a dog's tooth up between Banja Luka and eastern Bosnia.

That means the two westernmost Serbian territories receive supplies from Belgrade across a corridor that narrows near the Bosnian town of Brcko to a mere mile wide. That was not a "problem" as long as the Muslims and Croats were too busy fighting each other to close the gap. But the peace deal put an end to that.

Then there is the instability of the easternmost Serb lands. Although the Muslim safe havens there—Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde—are surrounded, they pose difficulties for the Serbs. Gorazde, for example, lies on the main road to the southwest and near the rail link from Belgrade to Bar, the major port of rump Yugoslavia. And Gorazde has a major munitions factory. Had the Bosnian government wanted to use its new agreement with the Croats to recapture some land, Gorazde would have been a natural place to start.

Not that there was any such "spring offensive" in the works. For all its talk of "liberating territories," the Bosnian government, thanks to the arms embargo against it, did not have the weapons to do so. "If we had been ready for an offensive," Bosnian diplomat Nevan Kulenovic said after Gorazde was lost, "we would have also been ready to defend ourselves."

So it was Washington's success, not Muslim plans, that frightened the Serbs. And it was Washington's failure to follow up its success by lifting the arms embargo and letting the Croats and Muslims protect themselves that paved the way for disaster.

Instead, the Clinton Administration spoke of hoping the momentum of the Muslim–Croat accord would somehow carry through on its own to a Serb settlement. The White House simply could not see that the momentum of peace accords between Croats and Muslims led one way only—a renewed Serb offensive to save what they had.

Then at the end of March, the Serbs in Croatia, always the most reluctant to follow Belgrade's lead, cut their own deal with Zagreb. That did it. On March 29, the day the Croatian Serbs signed the peace deal with Zagreb, the Bosnian Serbs launched their deadly assault on Gorazde.

The attack caught Washington flat-footed. Would the White House *now* act? No. Unable to protect themselves, the Muslims fell on the mercy of the UN peacekeeping force.

It was completely unprepared for the job. Lieutenant General Michael Rose, UN commander in Bosnia, could only call for "close air support," or tactical strikes, to protect UN personnel. Full-fledged NATO airstrikes to protect Gorazde required first a UN request for permission, then NATO approval, then an actual request from UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, acting on the advice of his special representative, Yasushi Akashi.

Even so, many felt Rose waited too long to call in the planes at his disposal. Leaked reports from his own military observers on the ground showed them to be furious as early as April 8 that he had downplayed the assault. Médecins sans Frontières, a charity that has doctors based in the enclave, called for Akashi's resignation on Monday, April 18.

By the time the UN thought about using "close air support," it was too late. The tactical strikes required guidance from the ground, difficult to manage when the forward air commander was pinned down in a bank vault. Instead, the UN tried to amplify the sound of its creaking bureaucracy. On April 18, Boutros-Ghali asked permission to ask for NATO airstrikes to protect Gorazde. Translation into Serbian: "We really mean it." That suited the Serbs, especially when NATO said it would need three days to decide. Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, signed and then immediately broke a ceasefire. Forty-three died that day, including six children.

On Tuesday Akashi turned down an invitation from Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic to come to Belgrade and chat with Gorazde's besiegers. The UN would not enter negotiations, Akashi wrote, until the fifty of its own personnel held hostage were released and the shelling of Gorazde stopped. In other words, "We *really, really* mean it." Again, fine with the Serbs, who freed the UN officials, then signed and broke another ceasefire. Four Bosnians were killed outside a UN military observer's house.

As the UN waited for NATO to answer its request for permission to request airstrikes, the situation worsened. Eight of Wednesday's 44 dead were killed by a direct hit on the city's hospital. The Serbs agreed to let in an aid convoy with medical supplies and 100 UN troops (down from the original 1,000 planned), but it was blocked five miles short of the town by a rent-a-mob of 350 Serbian women.

And when NATO finally weighed in Friday evening to demand an immediate halt to the shelling, it found Akashi in Belgrade pleading to allow the Serbs one more day to withdraw. What Akashi was doing talking to men whom he had said he would not meet until the shelling stopped was anyone's guess. But now the translation was perfectly clear: "We don't *really* mean it at all."

"This is always world policy," Kulenovic, the Bosnian diplomat in Zagreb, said. "They try to find some solution and wait for the reaction of the Serbs. And every time the Serbs just go ahead with their policy, they say, 'Well, let's try again.'"

Fortunately, there is still time to build on the Washington-brokered agreement between the Croats and Muslims. Unlike the countless ceasefires of the Gorazde crisis, it is not only holding but is, thanks to change within Croatia, even stronger. On April 21 Josip Manolic, speaker of Croatia's upper house, took 17 deputies out of the ruling party of President Franjo Tudjman; 15 more are expected to follow. Their goal: to remove Tudjman's minister of defense, widely seen as the architect of Croatia's own war against Bosnia. In an interview with *NR*, Manolic promised for the first time to deploy troops from Croatia alongside Muslim forces to close the Brcko corridor.

But the reunited Croats and Muslims need arms, Manolic said. "The Muslims and Croats would easily deal with the Serbs if they were allowed to arm themselves. We do not need a single American soldier on the soil of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We just need air support from NATO." As for the theory that lifting the arms embargo would prolong the war, Manolic was dismissive. "One has to know the nature of the Serbian aggressor," he said. "It only understands force. Until this beast is defeated militarily, there will be no peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Gorazde all know that. We may hope Clinton will learn before Zepa has to. □

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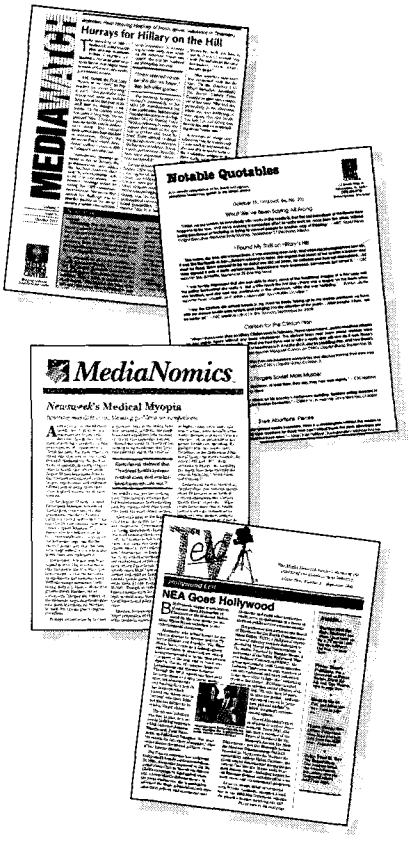

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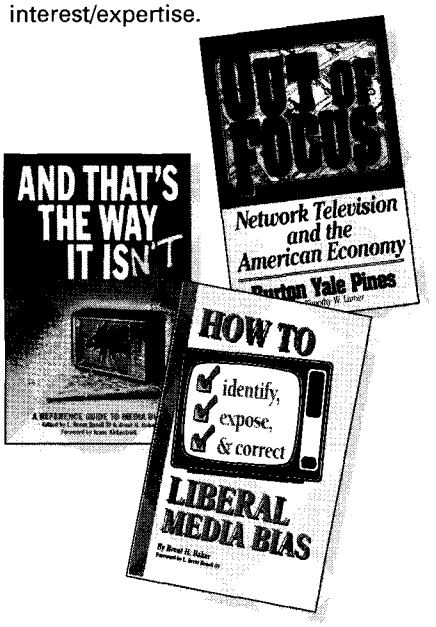

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RANDOM WALK

■ In the 1990s there are no longer winners and losers, just exploiters and victims—even on Wall Street.

Fortune magazine reports a "surge" in stockholder lawsuits under the SEC's Rule 10b-5. This allows investors to be compensated for losses due to securities fraud. Anyone with deep pockets associated with a money-losing firm is now a potential 10b-5 target, from a company's managers to its accountants to the brokers who sold its stock. In 1993 alone there were 89 lawsuit settlements for an average award of $7.4 million, making securities litigation one of America's top growth industries.

But where is the evidence of increased fraud? About 40 per cent of these suits are against start-up high-tech firms—whose stocks are risky and volatile as a matter of course. Ed McCracken, co-chairman of American Entrepreneurs for Economic Growth, a network of small-business CEOs, says these "baseless and abusive shareholder lawsuits" are often just "moneymaking vehicles for plaintiffs' lawyers." Average plaintiff-attorney fees in successful suits exceed $2 million. In a recent judgment, investors received $4 million and attorneys $8 million. Who's ripping off whom?

Exabyte, a Boulder, Colorado, firm that manufactures computer tape drives, saw its stock drop from $24 to $15 a share after a quarter of poor earnings. Big problem. Within three weeks the firm was slapped with eight lawsuits, all filed by the same law firm, all eventually dismissed by the courts. Yet, even if it wins, a firm like Exabyte can still lose. AEEG reports that the average firm hit with a frivolous suit spends $700,000 in legal fees and 1,000 hours in management time fighting it—another cost of doing business.

Relief may come from the unlikeliest of sources: Congress. Representative Billy Tauzin (D., La.), one of the dying breed of pro-business Democrats, wants to rewrite the rules for shareholder lawsuits. His bill, the Securities Private Enforcement Act, would allow judges to shift legal fees onto the plaintiff if the suit is deemed frivolous. He would also eliminate "joint and several liability" in securities cases and move toward proportionate liability based on culpability. Tauzin insists the real "fraud" here is "being perpetrated by a small number of predatory attorneys and plaintiffs. The defendants are the victims."

Congressional sources say the trial lawyers and Naderites "went ballistic" when they saw this bill. (Music to my ears!) There are certainly cases of stockbroker and management misconduct where the courts have a legitimate role. But not that many. Otherwise, people have a right to lose a fortune or make one. Guess which choice I prefer.

■ According to Connecticut investment bankers and buy-out investors John Rutledge and Jerry St. Dennis, we may be seeing the first signs of a major reversal of investor expectations—explaining the recent stock and bond sell-off and perhaps signaling a massive shift in asset holdings.

And private asset holdings are huge—$54.5 trillion at year end 1993, according to Messrs. Rutledge and St. Dennis. This includes about $36 trillion in financial assets and roughly $19 trillion in tangible assets. These add up to 8.5 times the 1993 GDP and 215 times the $255-billion federal budget deficit. So even minor shifts in individual portfolio decisions can unleash forces that swamp the effects of Treasury auctions, corporate bond placements, the volume of new equity financings, hedge-fund trading, etc.

In the 1980s tight money and lower tax rates, which reduced inflation fears and raised economic-growth and profit estimates, drove investors to shift massively out of tangible assets and into stocks and bonds. In fact, the data show that a $7-trillion re-deployment of assets pushed long-term interest rates down by 900 basis points, thereby generating the longest sustained bull market of the century.

President Clinton's policies, however, are reversing these trends. Tax hikes reduce the after-tax return on securities by more than 20 per cent. Easy money, managed trade, and new liberal (i.e., Old Keynesian) appointments to the Federal Reserve point to higher inflation. Both encourage investors to shift assets away from financial securities and back into real assets, thereby unwinding the bull trend of the 1980s. The recent sell-off in bonds and the strengthening in real-estate values and commodities prices look like a turning point in investor sentiment. Stir in health-care reform and Clinton's social agenda, and we have the makings of a replay of the 1970s. Fasten your seat belts.

■ We're in for a Bumpy Ride, Part Deux: "A unique set of conditions" worldwide will generate dramatically faster growth that will eventually be accompanied by a renewal of commodity-based inflation pressures. So says B. J. Willingham, chief investment officer of Transamerica Fund Management Company, based in Houston, Texas. He argues that a combination of fiscal drag and easy money is developing almost everywhere. This has created strong pressures for low interest rates and rapid money-supply increases, which are already stimulating aggregate consumer and business demand. Add in the new free enterprise in the emerging countries, and the result will be "a firestorm of faster global economic growth."

But since global industries have been downsizing for years, key raw-material supplies such as steel, cement, copper, oil, etc. will not be sufficient to meet global demand. So, commodity inflation is on the way in Europe, North America, and Japan. The exact timing? Who cares? This guy has a solid investment track record, so I'm going to double up my positions in gold, silver, commodity, and natural-resource stocks, especially the big firms that produce and sell worldwide.

—GEKKO

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In the Inner Cities

BLACKS, JEWS, LIBERALS, AND CRIME

Is the black-crime problem a crime problem, or is it a poverty problem, or an education problem? New York's former mayor offers a diagnosis; other doctors disagree.

ED KOCH

IN 1964, I, along with thousands of other young men and women, went to Mississippi and elsewhere in the South to assist in the program initiated by black organizations to register black voters. The group was mostly white and preponderantly Jewish.

I spent a week in Mississippi, and the only place I felt comfortable was in the black community, either in the church where we met to plan strategy, or in the homes of black citizens where I spent each night. Everywhere else, in Jackson and in Laurel, the city where I actually tried cases and was subject to mob threats, I was very frightened—not of blacks, but of whites.

This was an historic moment for me personally and for the nation. In the church every night we sang "We Shall Overcome" with great feeling.

Today, most whites, myself included, would feel very uncomfortable in a totally black neighborhood, particularly at night. What has happened in the last thirty years? Well, Jesse Jackson summed up the reasonableness of white fear in black neighborhoods when he recently said, "There is nothing more painful to me at this stage in my life than to walk down the street and hear footsteps and start thinking about robbery—then look around and see somebody white and feel relieved."

So the fear is not irrational. To finish the story, however, when Jackson was later condemned for telling what is clearly the truth, he gave a ludicrous explanation. He said, in effect, what I really meant was that if I saw a white face I would know that whites were moving into the neighborhood and that there would therefore be more cops around. Poor man. Plain fear of his colleagues caused him to so demean himself. But, as his earlier and more honest remarks had conceded, fear of black crime is not irrational or rooted in prejudice.

In New York City, 57 per cent of those in prison are black and 35 per cent Hispanic. According to Department of Justice statistics, 45 per cent of violent crimes are committed by black males, who are only 6 per cent of the population. And black males aged 15 to 24, who are 1 per cent of the population, are responsible for at least 19 per cent of the murders.

Black Victims, White Fear

IT IS TRUE that large numbers of these crimes are committed black on black; but what difference does that make? If a person is brutalized, it makes no difference to whites if the victim is black, not white. Whites are still frightened by the violence, as are the overwhelming majority of blacks who are law-abiding. Several years ago, if I had cited these violent-crime figures, I would have been attacked as a racist even though they are accurate. I take some credit for having been willing to cite them in a quest for truth and in order to call attention to the cancer of crime, realizing that unless the cancer is identified you cannot treat and remove it.

It has now become acceptable to discuss black crime. Two years ago Bill Bradley stepped onto the Senate floor and said, "In politics for the last 25 years, silence or distortion has shaped the issue of race and urban America . . . there are two phenomena here. There is white fear, and there is the appearance of black emboldening . . . you snatch a purse, you crash a concert, break a telephone box, and no one, white or black, says

Mr. Koch is a partner in the firm of Robinson, Silverman, Pearce, Aronsohn, & Berman. This article is adapted from his speech at the NR Institute's *Washington Summit in March.*

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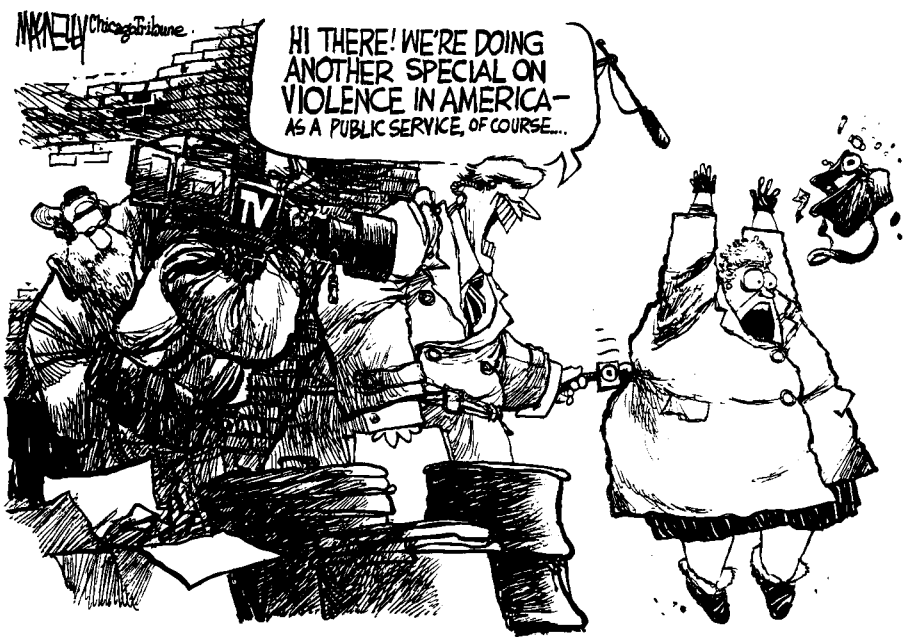
stop. You rob a store, rape a jogger, shoot a tourist, and when they catch you, if they catch you, you cry racism. And nobody, white or black, says stop."

And President Clinton himself last November called for an end to the violence in a speech to black ministers at the Memphis church where the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his last sermon. Said Mr. Clinton: "I tell you, unless we do something about crime and violence and drugs that is ravaging the community, we will not be able to repair this country."

He went on: "If he [Martin Luther King] were to reappear at my side today and give us a report card on the last 25 years, what would he say? 'You did a good job,' he would say—voting and electing people who formerly were not electable because of the color of their skin. . . . he would say, '[You] did a good job creating a black middle class of people who really are doing well, and



the middle class is growing more among African-Americans than among non-African-Americans.' . . . But he would say, 'I did not live and die to see the American family destroyed. I did not live and die to see 13-year-old boys get automatic weapons and gun down 9-year-olds just for the kick of it . . . I fought to stop white people from being so filled with hate that they would wreak violence on black people. I did not fight for the right of black people to murder other black people with reckless abandonment.' "

It is interesting to note that the *New York Times*, commenting on this speech, remained true to its traditional role of denigrating jail time for criminals and always seeking to identify the "root causes" of crime. It sought in this case to link minority crime not so much to personal responsibility, as the President did, but rather to vicissitudes with which the individual could not cope. The *Times* wrote, "As inspiring as it was, Mr. Clinton's sermon was only a prologue to an urban policy. Big-city mayors will surely want to hear more of how he intends to stimulate investment in cities . . . What of gun control? . . . What of welfare reform?"

I must say that when I hear the words "root causes," I want to go to the nearest window, as Peter Finch did in *Network*, and yell, "I'm mad as hell and I'm not going to take it any more." When we find those root causes, and when we find what it is that will prevent people from engaging in crime, we should put it all in a pill and force-feed those miscreants. But until then, punishment and incarceration are the only answers we have available. Those who in effect urge designer ankle bracelets for home monitoring instead of jail—so that we will know where the criminals are so we can send them their Social Security checks—generally live in Connecticut and summer in the Hamptons. They do not have to live with the consequences of their sentimentality. When their hearts bleed for criminals the rest of us can expect to find other parts of our bodies bleeding in due course. We can no longer afford the "decency" of the *New York Times* because it is decency at other people's expense.

I agree wholeheartedly with what Prime Minister John Major said concerning those two ten-year-olds accused of kidnapping and murdering a toddler: "I feel strongly that society needs to condemn a little more and understand a little less."

Unless we deal with the disaffiliated in our cities—who are overwhelmingly, but not exclusively, black and Hispanic—we will not overcome the enormous racial division in our society. In addition to the proposals in the crime bill now being debated in Congress, I have two modest suggestions on how that can be done. One of the few votes I regret casting while I was a congressman was ending the military draft without creating a mandatory National Service Corps. We should now institute such a corps, requiring all dropouts and new high-school graduates to serve for two years. Unlike the military, it should not exclude drug addicts or those with criminal records. Indeed, the key is to remove those who are disaffiliated from their current environment and instill some self-discipline and decent values in them.

The National Service Program I propose goes much further than President Clinton's, which I fear will only end up assisting those who would make it anyway. The larger program I am proposing would be expensive, but it would be more than worth it if it helps get potential criminals back on track.

In addition, we should institute a system whereby any person who has a criminal record but who completes service in the corps would be eligible for an executive pardon, allowing him to start fresh in return for clear evidence of self-reformation. To be eligible, a person would have to have gotten his GED, been off drugs for three years with weekly testing, and not been con-

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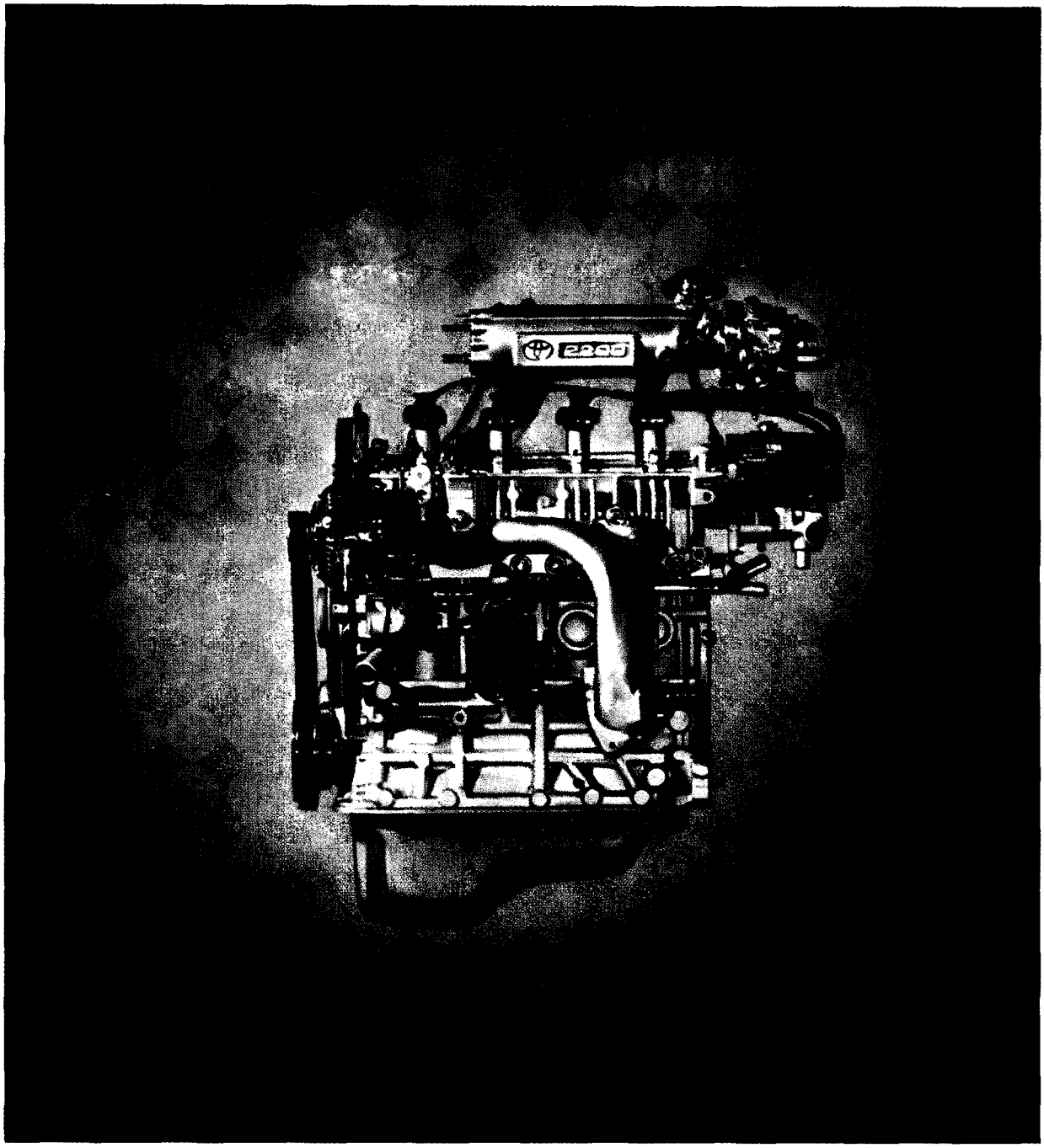

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victed of a crime in that period. With such a pardon, when he applies for a job and is asked, "Have you ever been convicted of a crime," he will be able to answer, "No." That will give him an opportunity for a new start. Of course, there are some crimes for which such pardons can never be available: murder, rape, pedophilia, to name the most obvious.

Racist Statistics?

LET ME now address those who reject the crime statistics I have cited, alleging that racism causes these arrests. It must be noted that in the last thirty years, black mayors have been or are in charge of Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and hundreds of other cities. Currently, blacks have elected forty members to Congress, many holding positions in the leadership, and a senator, Carol Moseley Braun, from Illinois, a state that has a black population of only 12 per cent. And the highest position in our armed forces was held until recently by Colin Powell, a black man who would be a popular candidate for President if he were to run in '96.

Yet in Washington, D.C., with a black mayor, a black city council, and many black judges, 42 per cent of black males aged 18 to 35 were awaiting trial, in jail, or on probation in 1991. Across the river in Baltimore, also with a black mayor, etc., the figure was 56 per cent. Yes, racism does exist, but it cannot be blamed for the deplorable state of the black underclass. Indeed, the claim that it can is an important influence making crime worse and law enforcement more feeble.

Pulitzer Prize–winning columnist William Raspberry wrote in January 1993, "For them [young African-Americans] the culprit isn't lack of money but racial disadvantage, and the 'cure' is not a lucky lottery ticket but the defeat of racism.

" 'If it weren't for racism, [they say] I'd have better grades and I'd be able to get into the graduate school of my choice—and also have the money to pay the tuition there. If it weren't for racism, I would have had my promotion by now. I wouldn't have been stopped for speeding, and if I had I certainly wouldn't have been given that big a ticket. You think that cop would have arrested me for what I said if I'd been white?'

"I hear the recitals—the excuses—and I find them as fanciful as my dreams of winning the lottery and getting in shape. Most of the things complained of would be considerably eased by some combination of exertion, self-discipline, and mouth control. Racism serves as a sort of generalized rationalization for not trying."

The Farrakhan phenomenon is directly related to this problem. In a recent poll of blacks conducted for *Time* magazine, Farrakhan was the second most popular black leader with 9 per cent. Number one was Jesse Jackson, who now has embraced Farrakhan, with 34 per cent. In addition, in a survey conducted by a University of Chicago professor, 62 per cent of the African-Americans polled said Louis Farrakhan represents "a positive view within the black community."

What is it that makes Farrakhan acceptable to mainstream black leaders and organizations? It is their failure to deal with black crime, the drug culture, and the pathology of illegitimacy, where 66 per cent of black children are born out of wedlock (in Harlem, it's more than 80 per cent). These leaders are throwing up their hands and looking to Farrakhan, who, with his demagogic anti-Semitism and racism, has done for blacks what Hitler did for a dispirited German population. The Führer told Germans their condition wasn't their fault, it was everybody else's fault, particularly the fault of the Jews, and that is exactly what Farrakhan is saying to blacks.

Farrakhan tells his people, You are better than white people—not just equal to white people, but better. And, as reported in a March 5 *New York Times* article, "According to the Nation [of Islam], whites were created by Yakub, the mad scientist, as a test for the superior black race, who are the chosen people, and also as a curse on it." This has been going on for years.

Yet we witnessed a shocking spectacle last September when the Congressional Black Caucus, the NAACP, and Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition announced, at a panel discussion I saw on C-SPAN, that they were joining in a "Sacred Covenant" with Farrakhan. Farrakhan was one of five panel members addressing the all-black audience, which cheered his every statement. His co-panelists were Jesse Jackson; NAACP Director Ben Chavis; Representative Kweisi Mfume, the head of the Congressional Black Caucus; and Representative Maxine Waters, cheerleader for the L.A. rioters.

And when the House of Representatives overwhelmingly adopted a resolution denouncing the hate-mongering speech of Khalid Muhammad, 20 members of the Black Caucus voted in favor, but 11 voted against it, 4—including Mfume—voted present (i.e., abstained), and 3 didn't vote at all. Can you imagine the outcry if, on a House resolution condemning David Duke, a comparable percentage of the 32 Jewish members of the House had voted "no" or "present," or not voted at all?

Some extraordinary leaders in the black community, like Congressman John Lewis of Georgia, have shown enormous courage by standing up and separating themselves from their colleagues in the Black Caucus. On the House floor during the debate on the Muhammad resolution, Lewis said, "I deeply feel we have a moral obligation and a mandate and a mission to speak out against the remarks made by Khalid Abdul Muhammad at Kean College. Mr. Muhammad delivered a poisonous and a hateful speech. Any time such hateful expression rears its ugly head, it should not go unchallenged."

Black leaders correctly say to white America, "You cannot tell us who our leaders should be." I agree, but I say to them you cannot expect decent white people, whether they be Christians or Jews, to embrace organizations that have embraced Farrakhan and his ilk.

At this point we should say to black organizations with which—whether Khalid Muhammad wants to believe it or not—we have fought side by side in the civil-

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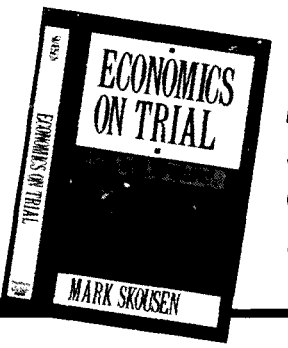

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rights battle, that we can no longer accept their explanations that they are only supporting Farrakhan's positive anti-crime and anti-drug messages. It would be just as unacceptable if someone sought to separate David Duke's concern for the white underclass in Louisiana and its standard of living, from his anti-black, anti-Semitic rhetoric. You cannot segregate the good from the bad in a racist demagogue.

Missing in discussions of "black rage" is its mirror image, "white rage." There is discrimination in this country, but whites fail to see how lingering discrimination can be used as an excuse for black violence.

Each year we see further advancement of minorities toward equality. But equality implies two sides. It means a single standard whether you are white or black. It means working together, not segregation. There was a time when white racists like David Duke predominated. Regrettably, we see a replay of that prejudice, but this time in the hands of some blacks like Louis Farrakhan.

There will come a time when the vast majority of blacks—tired of being the target of crimes by other blacks, tired of the false leaders who use the racism of some whites to excuse the ills in their community—will turn away from these demagogues. Until that day arrives we have to be willing to tell the truth. □

Jack Kemp

MY DISAGREEMENT with Ed Koch's argument is not on the topic of Louis Farrakhan. Both of us share Martin Luther King's opinion of anti-Semitism as "wrong, unjust, and evil."

It is, instead, his comments on crime and the black community that raise objections—comments that are open, candid, but in my view profoundly mistaken.

Ed Koch is urging us to accept at face value the counsel of unconsidered fears: that violent crime is "black crime" (his words) and that any response but prison is a futile search for "root causes."

The first point at issue is factual: Ed Koch assumes that race is the best predictor of crime.

But stacks of studies show that the best predictor of whether a young man will later become a violent criminal is not race. It is growing up without a father to provide a positive male role-model.

Nearly twenty years ago, George Gilder warned that single males, replaced in families by welfare checks, would become trapped in a culture of poverty, despair, and violence. He argued that civilization itself depended on the process of civilizing young males through stable families—first the families in which they are raised by mothers and fathers, then the families they form by marrying and having children.

This argument had nothing to do with race or ethnicity. It had everything to do with the moral and social development of children. Most single mothers are doing heroic work raising their children and inculcating values against terrible odds; but societies always suffer, in the long run, when no-fault fatherhood is common.

The point is more than a subtlety. Crime has grown along with out-of-wedlock births and the expansion of the underclass, not because of an increasing population of blacks. It is more accurate to talk of what Pat Moynihan has called the "underclass" and its problems, such as crime, than of "black crime." And the problems of the underclass are not black problems, they are human problems that demand resolution.

Ed Koch's argument fails on several counts.

First, the growth in out-of-wedlock births among white women leads Charles Murray to warn of "the coming white underclass." If he is right, in a decade or two, over-generalizations about "black crime" may be impossible. Second, while much of the underclass is black, it does not include most black Americans. Just one in ten, according to Myron Magnet, falls into this category. Even among the underclass, criminals are a distinct minority. There is no reason to make blacks part of a suspect class, or to question their values. This point demands more attention than Ed Koch's brief aside that most blacks are law-abiding.

As to Koch's point that whites are justifiably uncomfortable in "totally black" neighborhoods, most people, it seems to me, are uncomfortable in *dangerous* neighborhoods. Some of those neighborhoods might be black. Some might be Hispanic. Some might be white. The justified fear of crime is not a function of race.

Third, for conservatives, adopting Koch's arguments could squander a tremendous opportunity—the political realignment of minorities in America.

As I argued in my speech following former Mayor Koch at the NR Institute Summit, the black community has strong undercurrents of conservatism. Nearly 90 per cent support voluntary prayer in schools. Over 90 per cent approve of requiring able-bodied welfare recipients to work for benefits. Over 50 per cent consider themselves pro-life. About 60 per cent approve of denying parole for repeat violent offenders.

And in the last decade, the black middle class and entrepreneurial class have grown dramatically. In that period, the number of black families with incomes over $50,000 has doubled. This is not sufficient, but it is certainly remarkable.

The bitter experience of the liberal welfare state in our cities has opened the door for a positive, conservative message of economic growth and jobs, social mobility and educational choice, and Judaeo-Christian virtues. But mainstream black voters bristle at phrases

Mr. Kemp is co-director of Empower America.

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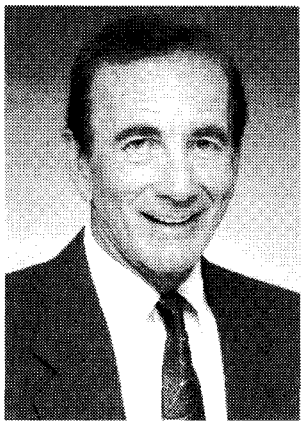

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like "black crime," with its implication that the terms are inseparable. They resent—with reason—the tendency to judge groups by their least worthy members.

Finally, there is an even more serious objection. Ed Koch is describing a future society in which a predatory underclass, at perpetual war with the mainstream, is either segregated into prisons or re-educated by government. This statist experiment would alter the definition of the American ideal. Our society has never permanently accepted a situation in which a whole class of citizens is condemned to become either wards or inmates. It is a form of despair alien to the American creed of equal opportunity and upward mobility.

Increasing social segregation and bureaucratic centralization are one response to underclass crime. I believe there is a positive alternative. Individuals, churches and synagogues, and government can determine to strengthen those institutions that create and sustain values: economic institutions that rebuild individual dignity and responsibility; a welfare system that rewards marriage, work, and ownership; families that instill values in the lives of children; voluntary organizations (like the Boy Scouts) that succeed precisely because they are not secular.

If "punishment and incarceration are the only answers we have" there is no alternative to a more aggressive and oppressive state. While prisons and punishment are certainly necessary, conservatives have other, more confident answers as well. □

Walter E. Williams

MY FIRST response to Edward Koch's speech was utter amazement. Whites who are not avowed racists just do not normally speak that openly and candidly about and to blacks. Methinks Koch would not have done so had he still been mayor, or harbored serious ambitions for future office.

Koch's call for serious discussion about what really plagues our inner cities (codeword for predominantly black neighborhoods) is welcome. Today's crime rate, unimaginable a mere three or four decades ago, is driving cities into middle-class flight (both black and white), bankruptcy, and economic waste. That level of crime has the full effect of a law mandating that there shall be no economic development in black neighborhoods. And it makes no difference whether we are talking about black business ownership or white. The tiny percentage of thugs who impose these high costs on black communities are equal-opportunity thugs. They will rip off a black business just as they would a white, rape a black woman just as they would a white, and destroy black property just as they would white.

Koch's statistics on the social pathology in black neighborhoods are even more depressing when we consider that they are entirely new. Herbert Gutman's book *The Black Family from Slavery to 1920* demonstrated that more black children lived in two-parent families during slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow than now. Harlem was much safer during the Forties and Fifties than now. Those who argue that today's pathology is a result of slavery, racism, and poverty owe us some answers; namely, why were black families more stable and black neighborhoods safer and more economically viable when racism was rampant and blacks had fewer opportunities for higher education, good jobs, and housing? Could it be that the effects of discrimination skipped several generations?

Khalid Muhammad's Kean College speech renewed the focus on the widening rift between two old allies—Jews and blacks. Jews rightfully feel a sense of betrayal in the face of today's black anti-Semitism. After all, many Jews provided not only money, but also blood, sweat, and tears in the black struggle for civil rights. And Koch is a certified member of this group.

In my more cynical moments, I consider today's black anti-Semitism as simply a matter of chickens coming home to roost. After all, Jews have stood at the forefront in pushing bankrupt liberal standards that have encouraged dependency, irresponsibility, and the immorality of socialism. Anti-Semitism, blaming others, and betrayal are merely parts of that package.

In a somewhat diabolical way, Reverend Farrakhan is the antidote. For if we exclude the anti-Semitic and racist part of his message, he is telling black people to reject liberal ideology. We ought to forsake drugs and alcohol, respect our women and each other, be responsible for our behavior. In a word, Farrakhan is pushing traditional values just as a conservative might.

Clinton's National Service Program, which Koch supports, has just as much promise as CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) and other Great Society schemes. To support these schemes is to believe that hustling politicians and poverty pimps can substitute for traditional values, schools that support those values, churches, and other local institutions.

Unbeknownst to many, there is an emerging black conservative movement in America, as witness an increasing number of popular black conservative talk-show hosts, publications, and organizations. I believe that in a couple of decades black Americans will be the most conservative Americans. After all, it is we who have suffered the most from liberal ideology. □

Mr. Williams is John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of Economics at George Mason University.

Peter N. Kirsanow

MR. KOCH claims to be a liberal. A cursory review of his text seems to contradict that claim. But a closer examination proves his self-description is exceedingly accurate.

In classic liberal fashion, Mr. Koch correctly identi-

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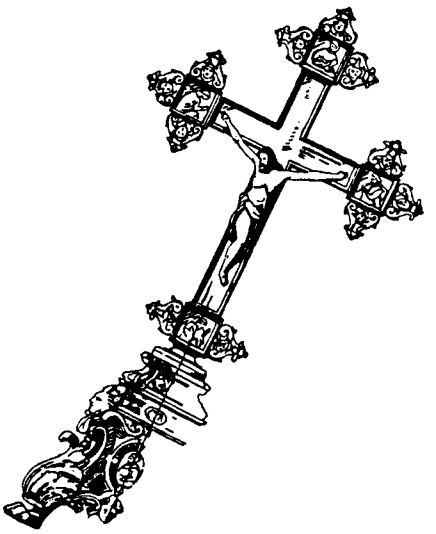
Are Catholics Christians?



Yes, of course! Catholics are the original Christians. The Catholic Church was founded by Jesus on the Rock who was Peter. But not every Catholic lives the full Christian life.

It's painful to note that there are Catholics who are biblically illiterate, who would sooner play bingo than pray, and who replace Jesus with Mary. No wonder the Second Vatican Council was necessary!

But the Council unwittingly allowed other distortions to creep into the Church: moral permissiveness and a reduction of Christianity to "being nice" and political correctness.

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fies the symptoms (black crime, illegitimacy, etc.) but botches both the diagnosis (liberalism and the residual effects of discrimination) and the cure (abolition of the welfare state).

The misdiagnosis is critical.

Mr. Koch asserts that "it has now become acceptable to discuss black crime." A more accurate statement is that it has now become *necessary* for *liberals* to discuss black crime and other pathologies unleashed upon the black community, in large part, by liberal policies. Conservatives have been addressing these problems for decades, only to be vilified or ignored by liberals of all races. Edward Banfield's analysis of the havoc wrought in the black community by liberal policies is now 25 years old. George Gilder's indictment of the welfare state was issued 15 years ago. When Daniel Patrick Moynihan sounded an alarm regarding the black family, his report was attacked by his fellow liberals.

Liberal silence exacerbated the maladies afflicting the black community. While liberals fiddled, the underclass burned. Interestingly, the same problems are now as pronounced in the white community as they were in the black community when Mr. Moynihan issued his report. Will we have to wait another thirty years before liberals find it "acceptable" to discuss the consequences of their policies?

Mr. Koch further opines that "there will come a time when the vast majority of blacks" will turn away from demagogues such as Farrakhan. He cites the failure of some black "leaders" and organizations to repudiate Farrakhan, suggesting that the latter has been embraced by mainstream blacks.

But the vast majority of blacks have already rejected Farrakhan, Khalid Muhammad, and, increasingly, Jesse Jackson, none of whom has as much influence in the black community as he does in the media. Mr. Koch focuses on the usual suspects but ignores Thomas Sowell, Shelby Steele, and others who represent a growing majority of blacks, moderate and conservative.

Failure to repudiate Farrakhan is not a black phenomenon, but rather a liberal phenomenon. It is the natural progeny of their own political-correctness movement. Indeed, Farrakhan is given sustenance by the liberal orthodoxy of group politics. Blacks have been anointed a victim class. Such status grants the group special access to preferences and entitlements from the welfare state. The role of the Farrakhans and Jacksons is to extract ever greater entitlements from the state by stoking black resentment, exploiting black victimhood, and aggravating liberal guilt.

Thus emphatic repudiation of a racist Farrakhan, no matter how marginal a player he may be, is essential. Yet far more imperative is rejection of liberalism.

Having misdiagnosed the disease, Mr. Koch fails to prescribe a credible cure. His proposed solutions come from the trash heap of failed liberal policies that inflamed the very problems of which he complains. In short, he advocates an enormous expansion of intrusive, expensive, and ineffective government programs. His plea for expunging conviction records for criminals who participate in a colossal rehabilitation program is the apogee of liberalism: the reward for criminal activity is government training, a clean record, and the ability to remain close to your prey. This sort of reasoning has recently driven the residents of Chicago's Robert Taylor Homes to renounce their Fourth Amendment rights in return for protection against the most likely candidates for Mr. Koch's program.

The solution is not more government. It is the wholesale dismantling of the welfare state. For it is not enough to discuss the symptoms. You must get the cause and cure right too. □

Mr. Kirsanow is an attorney in Cleveland.

Jared Taylor

'IT HAS now become acceptable to discuss black crime," writes Mr. Koch. I'm not sure this is a compliment to those of us who have been doing it for years—Patrick Buchanan, Samuel Francis, and especially Professor William Wilbanks of Florida International University, to mention just a few. But we welcome Mr. Koch into our midst nonetheless.

In fact, the significance of black crime is even greater than Mr. Koch realizes, for without it, the level of violence in the United States would not be appreciably greater than that of the European nations with which we are most often compared.

As the chart on the next page shows, Americans as a whole are more violent than Europeans: twice as likely as Frenchmen to commit murder and more than five times as likely as Germans to commit robbery. However, as is clear from the separate calculations for American blacks and whites, it is very high rates of violent crimes by blacks—eight times as high as whites for murder and more than ten times for robbery—that yield this result.

These figures actually overstate the white crime rate, since the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports* classify Hispanics as "white." About 9 per cent of the population is Hispanic, and jurisdictions that treat them as a separate category report that they are two to six times as likely as whites to commit murder and robbery.

These figures have a bearing on the debate over gun control. White Americans, who have easy access to guns, are less likely to kill each other than are the British, who are almost completely disarmed. Would gun control be so widely advocated if America were less violent than Britain? Of course not. Though they probably do not realize it, gun-control advocates propose to disarm all Americans because of violent crimes commited by blacks.

This comparison with Europe suggests that the

Mr. Taylor is the author of Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America.

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CRIMES PER 100,000 POPULATION

	Britain	France	Germany	Italy	U.S.A.	American Whites	American Blacks
Murder	7.4	4.6	4.2	6.0	9.3	5.1	43.4
Robbery	62.6	90.4	47.4	68.6	263.0	126	1,343

Source: *Uniform Crime Reports* for U.S. data, *The Economist* for European data. European data for 1990; American data for 1992

United States has neither a unique "culture of violence" nor inadequate gun laws. It has a high rate of violent crime because it has a large number of violent black criminals. Let us hope Mr. Koch will agree that it is now respectable to say so. □

Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

BY THE gentlemen's leave, I address the dispute and the disputants, rather than the problem. But of course, one lands right on the semantic boil—"the problem."

What problem?

The problem of "black crime."

I think it is probably fair to say that Mr. Williams is correct, that Ed Koch would not speak as he speaks, did he have political ambitions. And by the same token, Jack Kemp might make different emphases, were he not a lively (and qualified) presidential contender. But it is also true that Ed Koch is pleased to provoke—it has always been so with him. In the case of Jack Kemp, he is by nature indisposed to assign blame to anyone—except for bad reasoning, or for attachment to false ideals. Above all he shrinks from any animadversion that might be taken as genetically invidious.

For him the problem is that to speak of "black crime" suggests that one is speaking of a black attribute. This is the matter that needs to be sorted out, to the extent this is possible. Unfortunately, after analysis is nicely done and taken from the oven, there will be leftovers of point and counterpoint that mark the differences between the kind of thing a politician is willing to say, and an analyst is willing to say.

About ten years ago, at a quarterly dinner seminar of (primarily) academics, an elderly professor of sociology remarked offhandedly, somewhere between the soup and the main course, that he had been rummaging over tables of crime figures. "And I have calculated that if one withdraws the crime committed by blacks and Hispanics, the crime rate in the United States would fall somewhere between the crime rate of Monaco and of Luxembourg."

There was a quaintness in that formulation that relieved it of its sting, though however quaintly, this was not a finding the professor was likely to pass along to his students the next day. Ten years ago the whole subject was touchier by far than it is today, though I remember that, as early as in 1964, Theodore White, un-

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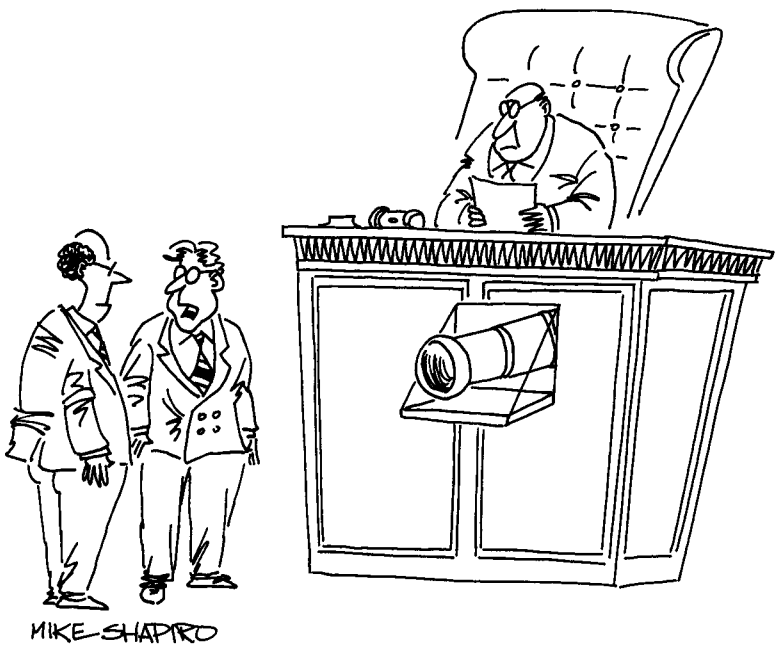

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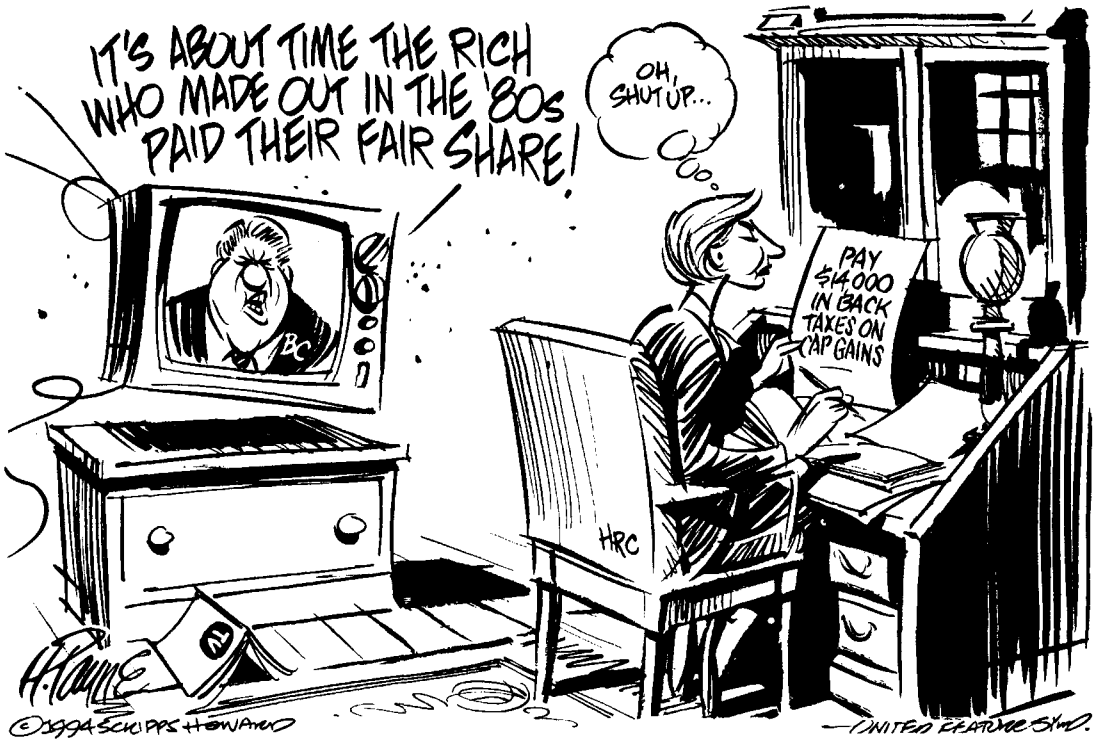
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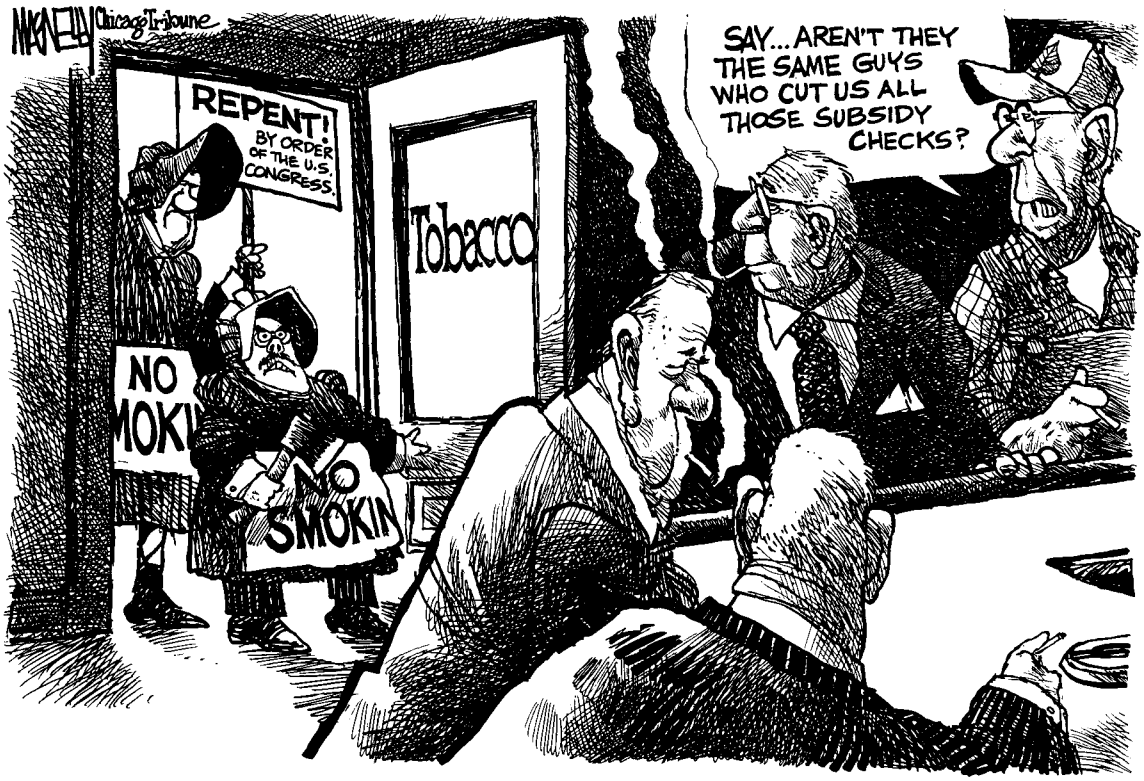
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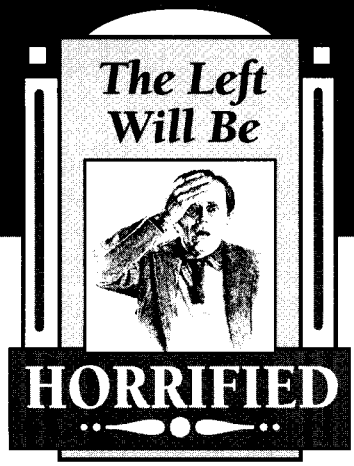

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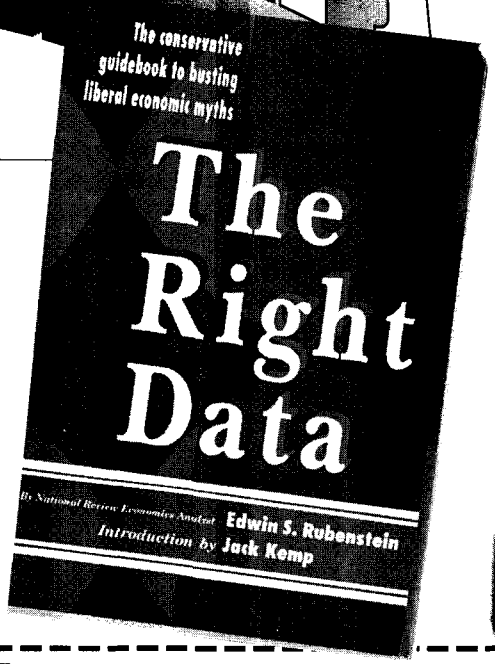
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assailably a liberal and an ethnic egalitarian, wrote that the crime rate among blacks was eight times that among whites.

Now, none of the disputants here challenges the evidence of disproportionate crime by blacks, so that much of the contention turns on formulation. Is it invidious to speak of "black crime"?

As a matter of logic, the answer, clearly, is no. The late Henry Hazlitt was dogged in pursuit of paralogisms, and once illustrated a point by reminding us that several generations ago doctors took to sending tubercular patients to Arizona because of its dry climate. It could thus be said that more people from Arizona die of tuberculosis than from any other state. But to communicate the whole picture, obviously the responsibility fell on the analyst to make the point about the doctors. Black crime is an idiomatic way to designate crime-committed-by-blacks. No insinuation of genetic cause and effect inheres in this term.

So then let's address the semantical point with the appropriate qualifiers.

1. Sixty-six per cent of black children are born to unwed mothers.

This is a datum none of the disputants deny.

2. "According to Department of Justice statistics"—to use Ed Koch's language exactly—"45 per cent of the crimes of violence in this country are committed by black males, who are only 6 per cent of the population. And black males aged 15 to 24, who are 1 per cent of the population, are responsible for at least 19 per cent of the murders."

Again, the data are not disputed, and his focuses ("males," not males and females; aged 15 to 24, not "of all ages") are acceptable—we can reasonably expect that any examination of crime by whites would reveal that the criminal is preponderantly a young male.

3. Now Ed Koch is not here arguing the nexus between illegitimacy and crime, though it can be held that the axiom is planted that the higher the illegitimacy rate, the higher the crime rate. He does not say this, and indeed he is quick to tell us that he is impatient with any talk addressed to "root causes." Kemp in turn is indignant about Koch's indifference to root causes. He makes his point conclusively by asking, in effect, Was Ed Koch ever a young black refused a loan because he was black? To which Koch has no entirely satisfactory answer, since there is nothing he can do about never having been a young black.

But Kemp engages in logical brinkmanship when he himself acknowledges a causal relationship between illegitimacy and crime. "The best predictor of whether a young man will later become a violent criminal is not race. It is growing up without a father to provide a positive male role-model." But Koch never disputed this; so that Mr. Kemp's triumphant declaration establishes nothing that was ever in dispute—a classic example of *ignoratio elenchi*.

One spots, moreover, rhetorical shading, destined to distract, if not designed to do so. He speaks about the diligent concern of the majority of black women. Well, nobody is talking about the culpability of the majority of black women. "Most single mothers are doing heroic work raising their children" is in a class with, "My client would like to call as witnesses thirty people who did not see him murder the victim."

So that we come very close to saying that the question before the house becomes: Can one reasonably refer to "black crime" when what is meant is "such crime as is committed by people who are black, among whom the incidence of crime is especially heavy." The qualifier is necessary because otherwise there would be no reason to refer to "black" crime. We do not refer to "Chinese" crime except when engaged in comparative studies. By referring to black crime, we intend straightforwardly to designate a phenomenon, which, conveniently to quote President Clinton, we must do something about or else "we will not be able to repair this country."

Now Walter Williams would appear to cut the umbilical cord of Jack Kemp's point that the blacks are reacting to persecution, by citing the rise in black crime hand in hand with the rise in black opportunities. But he then goes into a non-sequitur of his own. Ed Koch wants to know why such as Farrakhan (or, specifically, Farrakhan: happily, one shouldn't say "such as Farrakhan," because he is very nearly unique) are so roundly applauded by black audiences. Ah!—Williams has the answer. It is because Jews are associated with those liberal welfare measures which have undermined the black family!

Indeed they are. But Mr. Williams stumbles, because he is not able to point to an indictment of liberal social policies by black leaders, let alone black legislators. Members of the Black Caucus in Congress are consecrated welfarists. If they were expressing their resentment over the miscarriage of liberal social concern, they would scorn not only Jewish liberal Ed Koch, but black liberal David Dinkins, who got 95 per cent of the black vote in the mayoral race.

Ed Koch is asking black leaders to show an appropriate scorn for racist cant, and Jack Kemp is saying: Let's forget the cant that a people aggrieved and aroused go in for; concentrate, instead, on giving black Americans an opportunity to emerge from their own plight. The evidence is there, Mr. Kemp believes, that black conservatives are ascendant and just might, by the turn of the century, emerge as leaders in the liberation of their own people by casting down liberalism into that vasty deep in which Marxism now skulks.

The two analyses, in my judgment, can be simultaneously exercised, since the irreconcilabilities are temperamental. What is said by the analyst is rejected by the politician. Such analysts as the elderly sociologist who dabbles with crime figures in Luxembourg know that they stitch away removed from the tyranny of political hippodromes, where clichés and self-pity and victimhood preside, comtemptuous of intellectual rigor. Ed Koch does well to draw attention to thoughtless indulgences of racism by blacks, and Jack Kemp does well to insist that nothing should distract from the need to expose an underclass to hope. □

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Smoking for Two?

JUST HOW BAD IS SECONDHAND SMOKE?

It is puzzling that the EPA and other agencies have focused on secondhand smoke, whose effects can't compare to those of actually smoking. Puzzling, until one looks for the real agenda.

JACOB SULLUM

"SECONDHAND Smoke Kills." So says a billboard on Pico Boulevard in Los Angeles that I pass every day on the way to work. I'm still not convinced. But most Americans seem to be: a CNN/*Time* poll conducted in March found that 78 per cent believe secondhand smoke is "very" or "somewhat" harmful.

That idea was endorsed by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency last year, when it declared secondhand smoke "a known human lung carcinogen." Since then the EPA's report has helped justify smoking bans throughout the country: in cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco (likely to be joined soon by New York); in Maryland, Vermont, and Washington state; and in government offices, including the Defense Department. On March 25, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration proposed a ban on smoking in workplaces, including bars and restaurants. A bill introduced by Representative Henry Waxman (D., Calif.) would go even further, banning smoking in almost every building except residences.

Most supporters of such measures probably believe that the EPA's report presents definitive scientific evidence that "secondhand smoke kills." But a closer look shows that the EPA manipulated data and finessed important points to arrive at a predetermined conclusion. The agency compromised science to support the political crusade against smoking.

The first line of defense for people who want to avoid scrutiny of the case against secondhand smoke (a/k/a environmental tobacco smoke, or ETS) is to argue by analogy. "We know that tobacco smoke causes disease and can kill you," says Scott Ballin, chairman of the Coalition on Smoking or Health. "It makes sense that a person who doesn't smoke cigarettes, who's sitting next to a smoker and inhaling the smoke, is also at some risk." The EPA offers a similar argument, devoting a chapter of its report on ETS to the evidence that smoking causes cancer.

Although superficially plausible, this analogy is misleading. A smoker breathes in hot, concentrated tobacco smoke and holds it in his lungs before exhaling. A nonsmoker in the vicinity, by contrast, breathes air that includes minute quantities of residual chemicals from tobacco smoke. "ETS is so highly diluted that it is not even appropriate to call it smoke," says Gary Huber, a professor of medicine at the University of Texas Health Science Center, writing with two colleagues in the July 1991 *Consumers' Research*. Furthermore, since many of the compounds in tobacco smoke are unstable, it is not safe to assume even that a nonsmoker is exposed to the same chemicals as a smoker. Of 50 biologically active substances thought to be present in ETS, Huber and his colleagues report, only 14 have actually been detected.

Even if exposure to ETS were analogous to smoking, the doses involved are so small that it's not clear they would have any effect. Many chemicals that are hazardous or even fatal above a certain level are harmless (or beneficial) in smaller doses. James Enstrom, a professor of epidemiology at UCLA, estimates that someone exposed to ETS would be taking in the equivalent of a few cigarettes a year, perhaps one-hundredth of a cigarette a day. Yet studies of smoking have never looked at people who smoke that little; the lowest-exposure groups have been subjects who smoke up to five cigarettes a day.

The EPA's Smoking Gun

SO IT'S NOT reasonable to conclude that ETS must be dangerous because smoking is dangerous. You have to look at the research that deals specifically with ETS. The EPA's finding is based on 30 epidemiological studies that compared lung-cancer rates among nonsmokers (mainly women) who lived with smokers to lung-cancer rates among nonsmokers who lived with nonsmokers. None of the studies measured actual exposure to ETS; they simply assumed that people who lived with smokers

Mr. Sullum is managing editor of Reason *magazine.*

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were more exposed than people who didn't. In most of these studies, lung cancer was somewhat more common among the subjects living with smokers, but in only 6 cases were the results statistically significant.

This is a crucial point. In any study that compares a group exposed to a suspected risk factor with a control group, the luck of the draw may result in a difference between the two groups that does not reflect a difference between the populations the groups are supposed to represent. Researchers do statistical tests to account for the possibility of such a fluke. By convention, epidemiologists call a result significant when the probability that it occurred purely by chance is 5 per cent or less. By this standard, 80 per cent of the studies discussed by the EPA did not find a statistically significant link between ETS and lung cancer.

But the EPA, which had always used the conventional definition of statistical significance in its risk assessments, adopted a different standard for the report on ETS. It considered a result significant if the probability that it occurred purely by chance was 10 per cent or less. This change essentially doubles the odds of being wrong. "The justification for this usage," according to the report itself, "is based on the *a priori* hypothesis . . . that a positive association exists between exposure to ETS and lung cancer." Of course, the EPA was supposed to *test* that hypothesis, not simply assume that it is true.

Instead of presenting results from the epidemiological studies as they originally appeared, the EPA recalculated them using the less rigorous standard. As a report from the Congressional Research Service drily notes, "it is unusual to return to a study after the fact, lower the required significance level, and declare its results to be supportive rather than unsupportive of the effect one's theory suggests should be present."

Even after the EPA massaged the data, the vast majority of the studies still did not show a significant association between ETS and lung cancer. Of the 11 U.S. studies, only 1 yielded a result that was significant according to the looser definition. (According to the usual definition, none of them did.) To bolster the evidence, the EPA did a "meta-analysis" of these studies. Dr. Enstrom notes that this technique was originally intended for clinical trials that assess the impact of a drug or procedure by randomly assigning subjects to treatment and control groups. By contrast, the data analyzed by the EPA came from retrospective case-control studies that "matched" people with lung cancer to people without lung cancer. Enstrom says using meta-analysis for such studies "is not a particularly meaningful exercise," because the studies are apt to differ in the way they define exposure, the confounding variables they take into account, the types of cancer they include, and so on.

In any event, the EPA's conclusion—that living with a smoker raises a woman's risk of getting lung cancer by 19 per cent—is justified only according to the definition of statistical significance adopted especially for these data. By the usual standard, even the meta-analysis does not support the claim that ETS causes lung cancer. Furthermore, the EPA excluded from its analysis a major U.S. study, published in the November 1992 *American Journal of Public Health*, that failed to find a significant link between ETS and lung cancer. Given the large size of the study, it could well have changed the outcome of the meta-analysis, so that the result would not have been significant even by the EPA's revised standard.

Small Claims

DESPITE this "fancy statistical footwork," as a July 1992 article in *Science* described it, the EPA was able to claim only a weak association between ETS and lung cancer. With a risk increase as low as 19 per cent, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that other factors were at work. "At least 20 confounding variables have been identified as important to the development of lung cancer," write Huber et al. "No reported study comes anywhere close to controlling, or even mentioning, half of these."

Smokers tend to differ from nonsmokers in many ways—including diet, socioeconomic status, risk-taking behavior, and exercise—and it is likely that the spouses of smokers share these characteristics to some extent. "If wives of smokers share in poor health habits or other factors that could contribute to illness," the Congressional Research Service notes, "statistical associations found between disease and passive smoking could be incidental or misleading."

Misclassification could also account for some or all of the observed differences between wives of smokers and wives of nonsmokers. It's possible that some of the subjects thought to be nonsmokers were actually smokers or former smokers. Since spouses of smokers are more likely to be smokers themselves, such errors would have biased the results. The EPA adjusted the data to account for this effect, but it's impossible to say whether it fully compensated for misclassification.

These issues are especially important when the relationship between a suspected risk factor and a disease is weak. Based on the 11 U.S. studies, the EPA concluded that a woman who lives with a smoker is 1.19 times as likely to get lung cancer as a woman who lives with a nonsmoker. This ratio did not rise above 2.1 to 1 in any of the U.S. studies. In previous risk assessments, the EPA has seen such weak associations as cause for skepticism. When the agency examined the alleged connection between electromagnetic fields and cancer, for example, it said, "the association is not strong enough to constitute a proven causal relationship, largely because the relative risks in the published reports have seldom exceeded 3.0."

This concern did not prevent the EPA from reaching a firm conclusion about ETS, even though the agency recognized the limitations of the data. The head of the Scientific Advisory Board that reviewed the report conceded: "This is a classic case where the evidence is not all that strong."

The evidence is especially unimpressive when compared to the evidence that smoking causes lung cancer. In the latter case, there are thousands of studies, and virtually all of them have found a positive association, statistically significant in the vast majority of cases. And the associations are sizable: a typical female smoker is about 10 times as likely to get lung cancer as a female nonsmoker; for men the ratio is more like 20 to 1; and among heavy smokers, the figures are even higher. "The data on active smoking are so much stronger," Enstrom says. "That should be the focus of attention, not something which is so small and has the potential to be confounded by so many different things. I personally am

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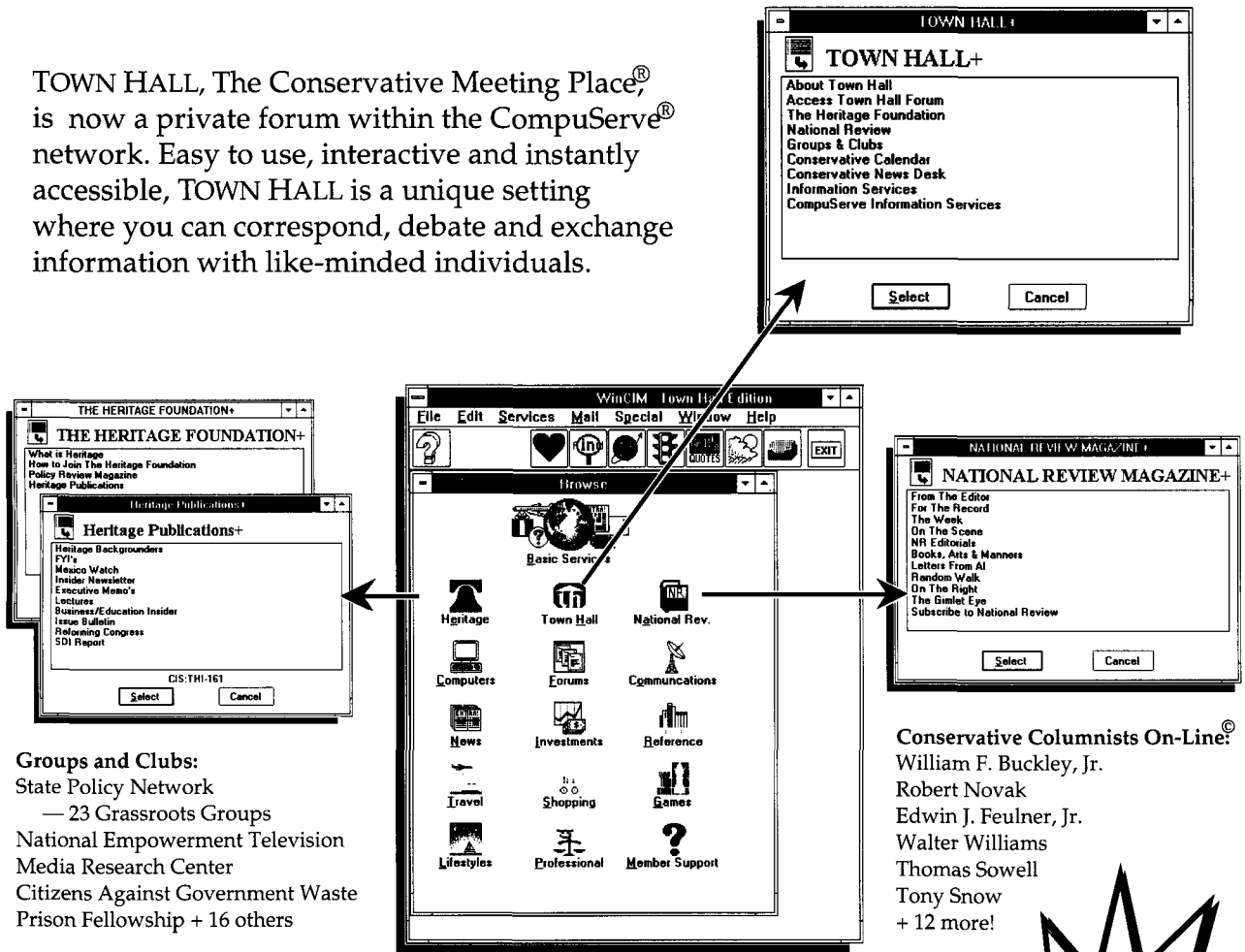

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baffled as to why people give it so much credibility."

Protected from Themselves

THE explanation may be that the EPA's conclusion about ETS is useful in a way that the evidence about smoking is not. Although the share of adults who smoke has dropped from about 40 per cent to about 25 per cent since 1965, some 50 million Americans continue to smoke. And as Duke University economist W. Kip Viscusi shows in his recent book *Smoking: Making the Risky Decision*, this is not because they are ignorant about the health effects. Rather, they are willing to accept the risks in exchange for the benefits of smoking. From a "public-health" perspective, this is intolerable; no one should be allowed to make such a foolish decision. But the idea of protecting people from themselves still arouses considerable opposition in this country. Hence anti-smoking activists and public-health officials need a different excuse for restricting smoking: it endangers innocent bystanders.

When EPA Administrator Carol Browner testified in favor of Waxman's Smoke-Free Environment Act in February, she relied heavily on the ETS report. But the main benefit that she claimed for the bill was its expected impact on smokers. "The reduction in smoker mortality due to smokers who quit, cut back, or do not start is estimated to range from about 33,000 to 99,000 lives per year," she said. And six surgeons general, reported the *New York Times*, "echoed the theme that this simple measure could do more for the public health than any other bill in years."

If your main goal is improving "the public health," you may be inclined to shade the truth a bit if it helps to make smoking less acceptable and more inconvenient. Marc Lalonde, Canada's former minister of national health and welfare, offered a rationale for such a strategy in a highly influential 1974 report: "Science is full of 'ifs,' 'buts,' and 'maybes,' while messages designed to influence the public must be loud, clear, and unequivocal. . . . The scientific 'yes, but' is essential to research, but for modifying human behavior of the population it sometimes produces the 'uncertain sound.' This is all the excuse needed by many to cultivate and tolerate an environment and lifestyle that is hazardous to health."

Writing about the ETS controversy in *Toxicologic Pathology*, Yale University epidemiologist Alvan Feinstein quotes a colleague who appears to have been influenced by the Lalonde Doctrine: "Yes, it's rotten science, but it's in a worthy cause. It will help us get rid of cigarettes and become a smoke-free society."

This seems to be the attitude that the EPA brought to its risk assessment. In June 1990 the agency released the first draft of *Environmental Tobacco Smoke: A Guide to Workplace Smoking Policies*, intended to advise employers to institute smoking restrictions. Yet this was three and a half years before the EPA officially determined that ETS was a health hazard. In a letter to Representative Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R., Va.), then EPA Administrator William Reilly admitted that "beginning the development of an Agency risk assessment after the commencement of work on the draft policy guide gave the appearance of the very situation—i.e., policy leading science—that I am committed to avoid."

Reilly was so committed to avoiding this appearance that he decided not to release the final version of the policy guide, even though it was ready by December 1992. As he explained to the *Wall Street Journal*, putting out the guide along with the risk assessment would "look like we're trying to torque the science." But don't worry. Miss Browner, Mr. Reilly's successor, released the handy pamphlet last July. □

Election '94

A TALE OF TWO GOVERNORS

Meet Tommy Thompson, dismantler of the welfare state, and Jim Edgar, the riverboat king.

DANIEL D. POLSBY

OFF-YEAR elections are typically unkind to the party in control of the White House, and 1986 was no exception. An already weak GOP dropped eight seats in the House and lost control of the Senate. But it did pick up eight governorships, including, improbably, Wisconsin, one of the country's most liberal states. Wisconsin voters were in a dark mood that year, brooding about taxes, the highest in the region, the erosion of the state's industrial base, its faltering farm economy, and the trap of being a welfare magnet (that is, bidding public-assistance recipients away from states with lower benefits). So Wisconsin bounced its liberal governor, Tony Earl, and cast its lot with a dark horse, the minority leader of the state Assembly, who had earned the nickname "Dr. No" in a twenty-year-long legislative career. Tommy George Thompson, age 45 at the time, thus entered the national stage.

Tommy Thompson has what pundits like to call rough edges. "I'm just a kid from Elroy," the governor likes to say. He used to be known (though less so recently) for his precarious diction. But his political skills were never precarious. During his first run for governor, he successfully defined the election as a referendum on his opponent. The national media were surprised when Thompson coasted home with a 7-point margin of victory. Four years later, no one was surprised when he crushed the savvy and respected Tom Loftus, Speaker of the Assembly, by a 16-point margin. Up for re-election

Mr. Polsby is a professor of law at Northwestern University.

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again this year, Mr. Thompson has public-approval numbers so high—three-quarters of the voters rate his performance "good" or "excellent"—that brand-name Democrats are finding reasons to stay out of the race.

Tommy Thompson is the darling of left-wing Wisconsin. Generally speaking, Republicans who beguile left-liberal constituencies do so by being liberal, like John Lindsay, or, better, by becoming liberal, like John Anderson or Harry Blackmun. None of this for Tommy Thompson. On the contrary, he is a movement conservative whose hero is Barry Goldwater ("In my heart, I still know he's right"). To be sure, his talisman—"reform"—is a magic word in Wisconsin, which considers itself to be the reformingest state in the Union.

But though Robert LaFollette and the Progressive movement shaped Wisconsin's self-identity for the twentieth century, the roots of the state's politics are ethnic. A plurality of residents are the descendants of German immigrants who deeply admired the welfare state that Bismarck set up in Prussia. Wisconsin was early in developing one of the largest public sectors in the nation, with welfare payments and taxes that have been (and remain) among the country's highest. A resident of Milwaukee with an annual income of $100,000 has a higher tax burden than a resident of such tax-happy jurisdictions as New York City, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

Tommy Thompson aims to undo all that. Some of the great landmarks of the welfare state are on their way out the door.

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BEGIN with public education. The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program is famous because of the coalition between Mr. Thompson and Polly Williams, a Democratic member of the Wisconsin legislature. This modest voucher program provides $2,500 grants-in-aid to allow parents to remove their children from Milwaukee's terrible public schools. At present the program embraces only seven hundred pupils—a statutory cap limits participation to 1 per cent of the public-school rolls, and forbids the grants to be spent in any of the city's excellent Catholic schools. Grant recipients have been extremely satisfied

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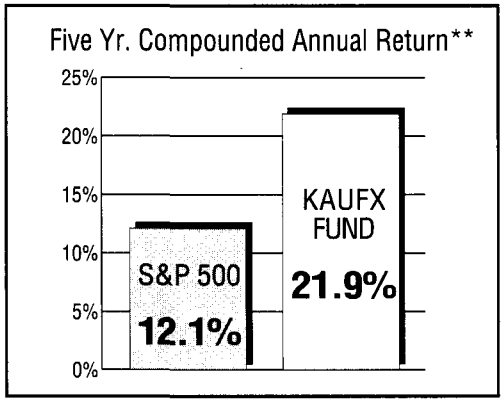

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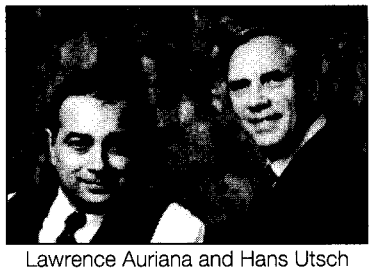

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with the program, and their children have shown a pattern of improving attendance and attitude, if not yet consistently better test scores. And according to a study by John F. Witte, a political science professor at the University of Wisconsin who had been highly skeptical of educational choice, the Milwaukee program has not, as the teachers' union had predicted, "skimmed" the best students from public schools or favored better-off families at the expense of poorer ones. In mid February, Miss Williams and Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist asked the legislature to consider expanding the program by half and removing the ban on parochial schools.

The legislature is not about to do so just now. Ever since Chrysler closed down the old American Motors assembly plant in Kenosha in 1988, the teachers' union has been the most important labor voice in Wisconsin, and on this issue it has drawn a line in the sand. But the camel's nose is under the tent; sooner or later the public schools' finance monopoly is doomed. Although Mr. Thompson has been content to allow others to carry the ball on school reform, no one doubts that most of the credit belongs to him.

Welfare reform has been a similar story. Virtually every state has something or another that can be called "workfare." But "learnfare" is a Thompson innovation: parents on welfare have their benefits cut unless their teenage children regularly attend school. The revolutionary theory here—that it is the responsibility of parents, not truant officers, to make sure that children attend school—is still deemed scandalous in some parts of the state, like Madison; but the electorate seems to like it.

These bumps up against the welfare ethos, however, have been overshadowed by the largest imaginable reform: the sunsetting of AFDC. As of January 1, 1999, Wisconsin will drop out of the AFDC program. If a satisfactory substitute program is not enacted by then, ultimate welfare reform shall have been achieved.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children is probably the most justly criticized welfare program in history. It pays women to have children out of wedlock, pays them extra if they compound the problem by having more children, and then cuts them off if they find work or get married. Everyone, Democrat or Republican, wants to reform AFDC; only Charles Murray has sketched what a thoroughgoing reform would look like. He argues that the best thing to do with AFDC is get rid of it and replace it with *nothing*. Let the indigent mothers enlist support from their own families, from their children's father, from the church or local charities—whatever. But recognize that the problem is hers before it is the community's. If she is not resourceful enough to solve her problem, then let her be relieved of it—by placing the children in an environment where they will be cared for properly.

Maybe this is an extravagant idea, as more than one irate critic has suggested. For his part, Thompson does not accept the Murray solution, but he has committed himself to some intermediate, as yet unspecified, reform. If the Assembly remains in Democratic hands, even an intermediate position may be difficult to achieve. On the other hand, if Republicans take over both houses of the legislature—a distinct possibility with Mr. Thompson at the head of the ticket—we'll find out just how much reform Wisconsin can take. And if he can sell that kind of reform in Wisconsin, Tommy Thompson should be President.

Tommy Thompson by Roman Genn

Enter Mr. Edgar

JIM EDGAR, on the other hand, should not be President, nor anything else. The contrast between Thompson and the Illinois governor could hardly be more stark. Jim Edgar spent two terms as Illinois secretary of state, whose main task is issuing drivers' licenses, before being anointed by retiring governor Jim Thompson as his successor.

Edgar's governing style is low-key to the point of invisibility. He is, in effect, a great résumé and hairdo with no offputting habits such as thinking anything—George Bush without the charisma. The 15 or so pounds he appears to have lost after having his gall bladder extracted last June seems to have made him both more telegenic and more taciturn. What you see is what you get: a bookkeeper with bad digestion.

Edgar's main campaign promise four years ago was to oppose any further increases in the state income tax. To this engagement he has faithfully adhered, though he did accept as permanent a tax increase that was hilariously denominated as "temporary" when shepherded through the legislature by Jim Thompson. Edgar's term has been concerned chiefly with managerial issues of the sort that occupy all governors. The state's Department of Children and Family Services in particular has had periodic *contretemps* that have obliged Edgar to become conspicuously (and usually embarrassingly) involved, firing or suspending or defending a caseworker whose client killed or starved a child.

Edgar's larger issue has been "economic development"—in other words, obtaining new revenue sources, principally by setting up waterborne gambling dens along the state's rivers, and by trying to build a new airport to take the expected traffic growth from O'Hare.

Both these items also headed Chicago mayor Richard Daley's list. But Daley's idea for a gambling casino is not a Frontierland sternwheeler chockablock with one-armed bandits. What Mr. Daley has in mind is something more in the Monte Carlo idiom. To plans of this kind the governor would not agree, fearful that such fancy properties would cut into gambling revenues in Republican parts of the state. An incomprehensible compromise seems now to have been struck: the city may have casinos but they must be on pontoons; permanently moored, they must float bu need not travel.

Mr. Daley's airport wish, now abandoned, was for an $11-billion facility to be sited in the industrial badlands on

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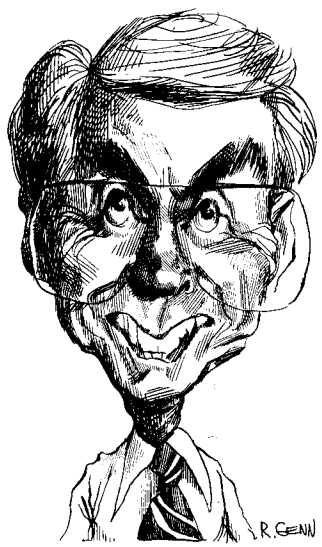
Chicago's far South Side, where the steel industry used to flourish. Mr. Edgar also looked south, but forty miles south, where an airport would be built by good Republican feudatories on good Republican farmland.

Through the first two years of his term, Mr. Edgar had to work with Democratic majorities in both houses of the legislature. Two years ago, the Republicans lucked out in Illinois's unique redistricting procedure, in which the decennial right to gerrymander is picked out of a hat by a blindfolded commissioner. Republicans promptly took over the state Senate, and they have a good chance of taking the House this fall. Thus Edgar could become the first Republican governor since Dwight Green in the mid-



Jim Edgar by Roman Genn

1940s with a majority in both houses. What would he do with this opportunity?

Mr. Edgar himself probably could not answer that question and, one suspects, might consider the asking of it somewhat poor form. He is not a conviction politician but simply a small-town Republican. He has, however, taken positions on two revealing issues. First, assault weapons—he's against them. Though military-style firearms figure scarcely at all in the state's crime statistics, Illinois's major newspapers and broadcast stations have gone on a crusade against them, and now a bipartisan posse of good-government types appear ready for a feeding frenzy. This is not the sort of ceremonial that a Jim Edgar Republican seems capable of excusing himself from. Second, he has sedulously avoided committing himself not

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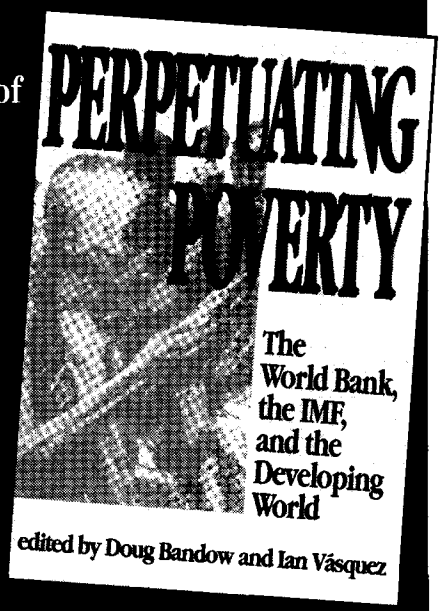

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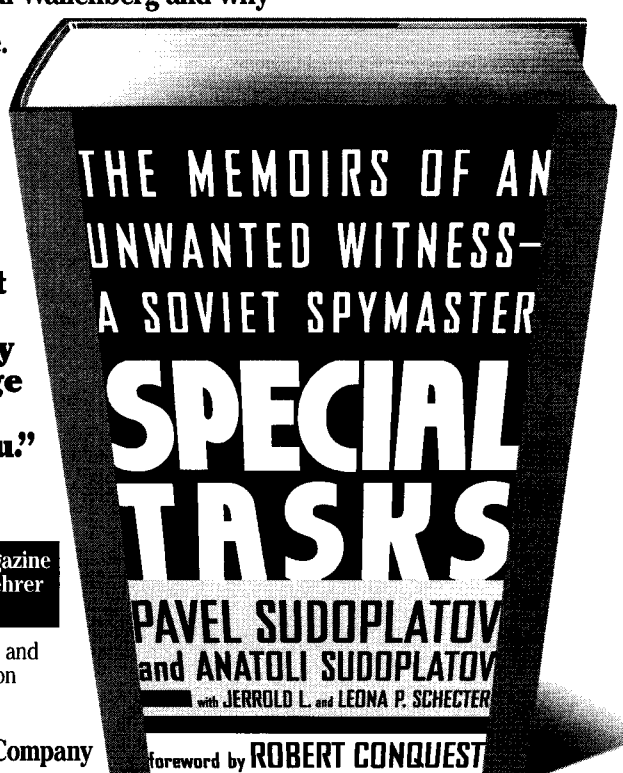
THE MEMOIRS OF AN UNWANTED WITNESS– A SOVIET SPYMASTER
SPECIAL TASKS
PAVEL SUDOPLATOV
and ANATOLI SUDOPLATOV
with JERROLD L. and LEONA P. SCHECTER
foreword by ROBERT CONQUEST

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to ask for tax increases next term. If you can read lips, you know what that means.

If this recital of issues and accomplishments makes ones eyes glaze over, consider how remarkable that fact is. Illinois offers the chance of a lifetime to an enterprising governor. Illinois's problems, in fact, are arguably worse than those in Wisconsin. The welfare system is breaking down under sheer numbers; the system of financing public education is shaky; juvenile courts in many parts of the state are running massive delays. Chicago's public schools offer a particular target of opportunity to an imaginative governor. They are in the fifth year of an effort at reform best described as "faltering": the schools' new general superintendent found that 90 per cent of the 535 already "reformed" schools were now in need of "remediation." Furthermore, the people who made the school system what it is, and who least want to see it significantly changed, are all Democrats. So what has Mr. Edgar to say about this? *"Don't rock the boat."*

When Mr. Edgar spies a problem, his instinct has been to try to manage it better. And of course better management can improve bad situations. But to those who believe that the predicaments of the modern welfare state are more in conception than in execution, his administration seems ever more unfocused.

As a potential national candidate, Edgar offers the attraction of predictability. Illinois Republicans have owned the honesty theme for 135 years, and Edgar more than respectably fulfills the tradition. No one will ever find the bimbos and shady deals in his past because there aren't any. But is there anything else there?

Then again, it is not all that hard to imagine someone running for President as the candidate of no ideas. The Clintons, after all, have thus far distinguished themselves by their cascade of preposterous ideas. Perhaps in 1996 the electorate, longing to be spared further reforms, will wistfully remember the time—is it really 35 years already?—when Republicans were well and truly the do-nothing party and the country was much the better for it. If some such specter seems to be haunting Republican focus groups three years hence, Jim Edgar's hour shall have struck. □

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The 'Intelligent Island'

DON'T COUNT ON ME, SINGAPORE

Singapore is clean and prosperous, but at what price? Caning isn't the half of it.

JONAH M. DAVID

There was a time when people said we couldn't make it,
But we did. . . .
This is my country, this is my flag,
This is my future, this is my life,
This is my family, these are my friends.
We are Singapore, Singapore, Singaporeans.
—"Reach Out for Singapore"

THUS begins one of the many songs that glorify the city state of Singapore. Unlike lyrics that celebrate Paris, London, or New York, however, it is not the romantic creation of a local Gershwin or Porter. Rather, it represents the collective effort of the government's Psychological Defense Unit. Its purpose is to create, as another song reiterates, "one people, one nation, one Singapore."

Formed in the 1960s to combat the spread of Communism, the Psychological Defense Unit currently devotes itself to "nation building." Its "people bonding" songs reflect the political thinking of the island's founding father and current Senior Minister, Lee Kuan Yew. In Lee's view, the recently developed Asian dragon cannot afford to allow its increasingly affluent citizens to create their own identity. Instead, the government does it for them. Just as Lee's ruling party, the People's Action Party (PAP), intervened in all aspects of the economy to generate impressive growth in the Seventies and Eighties, a variety of government-sponsored programs now organize every aspect of the Singaporean psyche.

Feedback units monitor what people think. Education units encourage the Singaporean to "train up, be the best you can be." The Productivity Board's Quality Club encourages "quality work," and the Family Planning and Social Development Units assess the city state's eugenic progress.

Coordinating all this activity, the Psychological Defense Unit believes in the power of the catchy jingle. In the 1970s crude posters aimed at creating a "rugged society." Subsequent drives employed more sophisticated, but no less didactic, advertising techniques. Thus throughout August, the month devoted to National Day, a TV commercial features the song "Count on Me, Singapore." It shows a young female teacher addressing a multicultural primary-school class. "Now, children," she says, "I asked you today to bring in an object to show your ambition." The classroom goes into soft focus, and children's voices fill the room. "We have a vision for tomorrow," they sing winsomely, "just believe, just believe. We have a vision for Singapore, we can achieve, we can achieve. We're gonna show the world what Singapore can be." We see Singaporeans going about useful occupations: engineers, doctors, chefs, computer operators. Back in the classroom: "What have you brought with you, Peter?" teacher asks a gun-toting six-year-old. "Oh, I see—you want to be a soldier." The chorus returns with "Count on me, Singapore—count on me to give my best and more."

It is, however, in the eugenic programming that the techniques of indoctrination reach their fullest devel-

Mr. David is a freelance writer living in Singapore.

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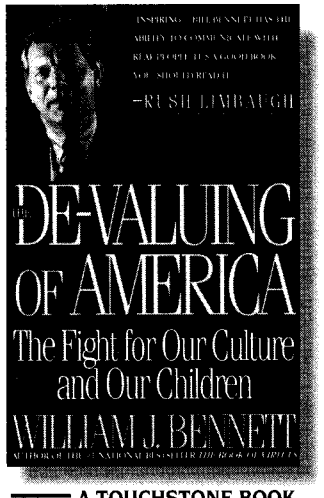

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opment. The Family Planning Unit's task in the early 1970s was to reduce Singapore's population. With such basic messages as: "Girl or boy—two is enough," and "Small families have more to eat," plus financial incentives for sterilization, the campaign successfully reduced the birth rate.

Too successfully. From 1984, Lee began to exhibit a more conventional Chinese concern with breeding. In his National Day speeches Lee lectured the nation. "If we continue to reproduce ourselves in this lopsided way, we will be unable to maintain our present standards," he warned in 1984. In 1985, the government introduced the Social Development Unit (SDU), a state-run matchmaker encouraging graduates "to make a little room for love" in their overly academic lives. The new unit even hired a loveboat to take unmarried graduates on romantic trips up the Singapore River, coyly announcing: "We just provide the intro—the rest is up to you."

By 1987, Lee judged the "birth shortfall" among the Chinese majority of the population to require legislative intervention. As Professor Saw Swee Hock explains in his *Changes in the Fertility Policy of Singapore* (1990): "With effect from April 1st 1987, [the] sterilization incentive became no longer available to those with one or more passes at ordinary level in the GCE examinations. . . . However, it was retained for those with no ordinary level passes and with three children. What it means is that the policy encourages those who are lesser educated . . . to undergo sterilization."

The government-controlled *Straits Times* annually agonizes over national productivity in the procreative field, with headlines like "1990 births top 50,000 target." Simultaneously, television advertises the joys of marriage and family life. Thus, one familiar SDU commercial features a young Chinese couple meeting on a bus. We see: "the boy," "the girl," "the telephone call," "the date" and "the wonder" as they gaze lovingly into each other's eyes. This is followed by "the acceptance" (the girl meets the boy's family, demonstrating filial piety), "the joy," and finally "the future," which involves at least three babies. Another commercial features a young Chinese father proudly cradling his infant daughter. He tells us, "Now for the first time I realized what life was really about—not money, not status, but the future, and here in my arms was the future and we were a family."

Nothing Left to Chance

THUS sex, like everything else in Singapore, has come to require meticulous planning. Psychological defense reinforces the official PAP line that citizenship consists in the performance of an allotted role in an unfolding master plan.

Lee's political party and the machinery of control it has evolved in fact undermine the possibility of democratic politics. Recent events illustrate this. In November 1990, Lee resigned as Prime Minister (he remains Senior Minister), permitting a carefully groomed "new team"—Goh Chok Tong and Lee's son, Lee Hsien Loong—to take the masses along the "next lap" of development. Initially, the unprepossessing Mr. Goh announced "a more consultative and open" style of government to create a "tropical city of the future." To get this vision "endorsed," Mr. Goh held elections in August 1991. In the event, the electorate returned an unprecedented 4 opposition MPs to the 81-seat parliament. The people had somehow got the idea that "openness" entailed the expression of an alternative viewpoint. Confucian rectification followed swiftly. The PAP closed all state-funded nurseries in errant constituencies and changed their bus routes.

"What I like about hunting is you shoot only the males."

In Lee's understanding of democratic accountability, it is the people who are accountable, not the party. To ensure that Singaporeans internalize government directives, the courts regularly hand out harsh sentences for relatively trivial offenses, as Michael Fay has recently discovered.

The technocracy, however, reserves exemplary punishment for those who dare question its authority. Mr. Jeyeratnam, a leading opponent of the PAP, has been bankrupted for criticizing Lee's autocratic style; former Attorney General Francis Seow was forced into exile after running as an opposition candidate in 1988. More recently, university lecturer Chee Soon Juan, who ran as an opposition candidate in a 1993 by-election, was dismissed from his post for the alleged misuse of $250 worth of research funds.

Psychological defense not only justifies such personal vindictiveness, it also legitimizes arbitrary constitutional change. In 1993 an elected president was introduced, radically altering the parliamentary system, in order to ensure that the PAP would retain control of Singapore's finances in the unlikely event that it should ever lose an election. The government terms this "fine-tuning." Mr. Jeyeratnam's trial for libel offered an interesting example of fine-tuning. He was tried in a parody of a British High Court, complete with imported QCs in their bewigged finery. The forms of legal process were scrupulously observed. But there was no jury. The legal process had been "fine-tuned," and Mr. Jeyeratnam was found guilty.

Minister for Home Affairs Jayakumar, a former law professor, clarified the extent of such fine-tuning at a Symposium on Law and the Social Sciences in September 1992. The continuing application of draconian Emergency Powers dating from the Communist insurgency of the 1950s, he explained, accounted for Singapore's success in combatting crime. Over one thousand Singaporeans currently enjoy "preventive detention" under the emergency provisions. The former law professor justifies this

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practice on the grounds that "the premise of the legal system—that a judge decides on the basis of evidence before him—cannot be realized in such cases."

Significantly, the post-Maoist reformers in Mainland China are appreciatively examining Lee's Asian polis as a model of political development. In September 1993, Wu Wei Ching led a 12-man delegation from the Chinese Communist Party's Department of Propaganda to investigate psychological defense. He subsequently recommended that China's "moral education program should be based" on the Singaporean approach. Interestingly, Singapore has recently assumed the management of the city of Suzhou in Jiangsu province. Explaining this remarkable "transfer of public administration software," Mr. Lee observed, "It is like bud-grafting Singapore methods of urban and social organization onto a Chinese tree."

The inhabitants of Suzhou should be warned. Psychological Defense encourages an obsession with the precise observation of rules. This outward preoccupation with regulation allied with a desire to succeed at all costs has spawned a uniquely anxiety-ridden moral identity known as "kiasu" (from the Hokkien "scared to lose").

Kiasuism legitimizes a gamut of behaviors that would otherwise seem perverse, selfish, and anti-social. Kiasu students hide library books in order to undermine the performance of their fellows. A local writer, Catherine Lim, attributes the popularity of the "eat-all-you-can fixed-price buffet" to the kiasu desire to get something for nothing. A local cartoon strip features a figure called Mr. Kiasu. Best-selling collections of his adventures retail under such titles as *Everything Also I Want* and *Everything Also Must Grab*. At the end of the first volume you can assess your kiasu quotient by answering such questions as "Do you distrust everyone, including your mother?"

Under such deracinating conditions Singapore has evolved into a curiously featureless place. As local writer Claire Tham observed in her aptly titled *Fascist Rock*, "She wanted to shout, This country's boring enough as it is. Our only indigenous culture is a shopping-center culture; kicks are few and far between . . . But she didn't expect anyone to understand."

This is not surprising. After thirty years of collective programming, Singaporeans cannot discriminate between the original and the fake. Indeed, they consider the copy an improvement. Such a perception applies not only to the perfect imitation of someone else's rendition of a song in a karaoke lounge, but also to copying someone else's intellectual property, or altering an inconvenient past. In this brave new world everyone aspires to the condition of a neurotic robot. □

Perversion of Intent

THE RICO RACKET

Now that the RICO law has been turned upside down, where is the ACLU?

G. ROBERT BLAKEY

SHOULD RICO (the federal anti-racketeering statute) be applied beyond a John Gotti or a Charles Keating to a Mahatma Gandhi or a Martin Luther King? I thought not when, as counsel to Senator John L. McClellan—RICO's chief sponsor in the Senate—I drafted the Act in 1970.

Yet the Supreme Court came perilously close to equating demonstrators with "racketeers" this January, in *National Organization for Women* v. *Scheidler*. In that case, in which I represented Joseph M. Scheidler, an abortion clinic at which he had led a demonstration alleged that he and his group had engaged in "extortion," because they induced employees, doctors, and patients "to give up" participating in or having abortions. Now *Madsen* v. *Women's Health Center, Inc.*, being argued this week, gives the Court the opportunity either to continue or to retreat from that path.

In 1985, Joseph Scheidler, the founder of the Pro-Life Action League, published *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion*. Scheidler advocated a collection of tactics to stop abortions, including sit-ins, which go beyond free speech. Nevertheless, he opposed any form of violent attack on an abortion facility or its workers. Scheidler learned his strategy of protest from Martin Luther King, when he participated in the march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965. Violence would, he argued in *Closed*, "damage the reputation of pro-life activists, . . . [and] reinforc[e] the erroneous belief that . . . evil can overcome evil."

In April 1986, Scheidler and three ministers went to the Delaware Women's Health Organization in Wilmington to tell Cathy Connor, its administrator, that they would demonstrate at the clinic the next day. Assuming from her name that she was Catholic, he told her "to get out of the abortion business because some day she would have to answer to Almighty God, who had a commandment, 'Thou shall not kill.'" (Hardly an extortionate threat—unless you can get service of process on God as a conspirator.) After the demonstration, Scheidler was arrested for trespass and harassment; he was found guilty of trespass and given a small fine, but he was not found guilty of harassment; the judge also commended him for his nonviolent approach. Almost a year later, Miss Connor left her job.

Not satisfied, the clinic joined with another clinic in Pensacola, Florida, and, with the help of NOW, they filed suit in a federal court in October 1986 and sought nationwide injunctive and treble-damage relief under the anti-trust statutes and RICO. The suit accused Mr. Scheidler of threatening Miss Connor and causing her to give up her job as part of a national conspiracy among the leaders of the pro-life movement to shut down abortion clinics through extortion. In March 1991, the district court dismissed the

Mr. Blakey is O'Neill Professor of Law at Notre Dame Law School.

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suit, on the grounds that the conduct charged did not violate the antitrust statutes; it "involve[d] political opponents, not commercial competitors, and political objections, not marketplace goals." Similarly, the court dismissed the RICO claims, since "an economic motive . . . [had to] be alleged in order to state a RICO claim." The Supreme Court granted review—limited, however, to the RICO claim.

Congress enacted RICO (the Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations statute) in 1970. It was drafted to deal with "enterprise criminality," that is, patterns of specified kinds of offenses—including murder, extortion, the provision of illegal goods and services such as drugs and prostitution, corruption in labor/management relations, and commercial fraud—by, through, or against various types of licit or illicit organizations, in the underworld or upperworld. In the sphere of criminal prosecution, RICO authorizes fines, forfeitures, and up to twenty years' imprisonment (or life imprisonment, if the criminal activity caused someone's death); in civil cases it authorizes injunctions and suits for treble damages and counsel fees.

At first, the Department of Justice moved slowly to use RICO. Today, it is the tool of choice against sophisticated crime. Roughly 39 per cent of Justice's RICO prosecutions are in the organized-crime area (not the Mafia alone, but also drugs, gambling, labor racketeering, etc.), while 48 per cent are in the white-collar-crime area (government corruption, bank and securities fraud, etc.); 13 per cent fall into other categories (violent groups with a commercial dimension, including terrorists, white hate, and anti-Semitic groups). The Department also uses RICO civilly to break the mob's hold on unions. Private litigation under RICO did not begin until around 1980; filings are running about 85 per month, out of 23,000 civil suits.

The Birth of RICO

WHEN Senator McClellan proposed RICO in 1969, Senators Philip A. Hart and Edward M. Kennedy supported it, but objected to its application "beyond organized crime." They, joined by the ACLU, argued that the Nixon Administration would use the statute against antiwar demonstrators.

When Senator McClellan replied that the bill was modeled on the antitrust statutes and that he did not intend it to be used beyond their general scope, which included only commercial activities, Senators Hart and Kennedy and the ACLU were not reassured. To meet their objections, Senator McClellan told me to strike the language that gave the senators concern. I did. No offense relating to trespass or vandalism in the context of protests was included in the final version of RICO. The offense of "extortion" ("obtaining property by fear") was included, but it was modeled on the early English common law, which emphasized "obtaining" property ("to get"), not "depriving" someone of property (forcing them "to give up").

A world of legal difference exists between a Vito Corleone who uses a mob-dominated union to throw a picketline around a restaurant in order to extract a payoff from the hapless restaurateur, and a Benjamin Spock who sits in a draft-board office to protest the war in Vietnam. Pointedly, the offense of "riot" ("an assemblage of three or more persons to do an unlawful act, when such act is done in a violent or tumultuous manner") and the offense of "coercion" ("forcing another to act against his or her will") were excluded from the list of RICO offenses to preclude any possibility that RICO might be used against demonstrators. As Senator McClellan explained during the Senate debate, the offenses chosen for inclusion in RICO "len[t] themselves to organized commercial exploitation." RICO would have no application beyond the marketplace of commercial transactions. Both those supporting RICO and those opposing it believed that because of the changes we made, RICO posed no danger to First Amendment rights.

The principal architect of the use of RICO against pro-life demonstrators is NOW's president, Patricia Ireland. When a Pensacola clinic was blockaded in 1986, Miss Ireland, a commercial litigator in a Miami firm, thought that Florida RICO (29 states have "little RICO" statutes) might be an effective tool. Lawyers at the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery who also represented the clinic disagreed, and advocated the antitrust

(Continues on page 76)

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THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1994

Dear Rusty,

Well, we finally got what we've been hoping for, and this Administration couldn't be more thrilled. Two simultaneous regional conflicts! Can you stand it? North Korea and Bosnia. Or, as my dad said to me, "It's 1914 in Europe and 1949 in Asia. Son, get out of the District." But he's a pessimist.

Actually, the situation in North Korea can't accurately be called a "conflict" yet. We were going to call it a "crisis," but what with the health, crime, deficit, employment, and timber-rights crises, it just seemed to make more sense to reserve "crisis" for domestic issues, and come up with something new for the foreign ones. At a Cabinet meeting, we all brainstormed new terms. Ron Brown suggested "partisan attacks" and "lucrative opportunities," but it wasn't clear which was domestic and which foreign. Warren Christopher pitched "areas for compromise" and "areas for capitulation," which I liked because of the symmetry. In the end, we settled on "crisis" for domestic issues for which we had introduced legislation and "distractions" for everything else on the domestic side. For foreign affairs, we decided that we'd wing it.

I guess what they say is true: Presidents like to campaign on domestic issues, but once things get a little knotted up, they sure do like to have a "conflict" or "deeply troubling impasse" to take their minds off stuff like Supreme Court nominees and House Banking Committee hearings.

Not that Bill's neglecting his domestic agenda. He still meets Stan Greenberg every morning to review his overnight Nielsen ratings, and every afternoon to get the focus-group breakdown. Since the public-housing sweeps and the crime bill have been testing so well, he's toying with the idea of getting George Stephanopoulos to float "three strikes with a moistened rattan cane" for white-collar criminals, but Uncle Lloyd C. thinks it would be better to wait and see how the whole Fiske thing shakes out.

At our weekly one-on-one lunch, Bill was thumbing through the Richard Reeves biography of JFK. Before he and HRC went on vacation, Tipper sent them a couple of biographies to read on the beach—one on Warren Harding (Harding: Years of Disgrace) and another on Spiro Agnew (One Hand Washes the Other: Financial Improprieties and the Fall of an Administration)—so I guess Bill caught the biography bug. Boy, was his Kennedy book dog-eared.

"I've been doing a lot of thinking, Al," he said, without looking up, "about the historical parallels to our North Korean problem. For instance, did you know that JFK had been written off as a one-termer before the Cuban Missile Crisis?"

"I did not know that," I replied.

"Well, he was. And by facing down Khrushchev and almost initiating the world's first nuclear conflict, his overnights went up 23 per cent—double, if you segment out the 35-and-older demographic."

"Hmmmmm," I said.

"To be fair to the Soviets," Bill went on, "Kennedy's vagueness and his reputation for caving in might have led them to believe that the missiles wouldn't be such a big deal."

"The parallels are eerie," I said.

We ate in silence for a while. Bill was trying to make the most of his sliced turkey breast with cottage cheese, but I could see him eyeing my fries. Then he went back to his book. "They all thought he was a weakling. A playboy. It took a showdown to show them what he was made of." He paused. "North Korea doesn't have an ICBM, do they?"

"I don't think so."

"I guess they couldn't get one in time for '96, huh?"

"You know what?" I said, quickly changing the subject. "Let's talk about Bosnia."

Bill waved his hand. "Bosnia? That's a no-brainer. It runs itself. The UN Ground Commander calls up the UN Area Leader, who relays the message to the UN Forces General Command in Bosnia, which in turn requests consideration from the UN Forces Political Commander in Bosnia, who then calls the Secretary General in New York, who then sends a formal request to the NATO Chief Commander in Europe, who bounces the request back to Washington, to Theater Command and Control, which then relays the order to the NATO Command in Bosnia, who passes it along to the Ground Leader, who assigns a Mission Commander, who then chooses a Wing Leader, who picks a pilot who drops a bomb."

"Piece of cake," I said.

"Where?" asked Bill. "I thought I smelled something good."

"No, I meant about the airstrikes."

"Oh, yeah. Hey, Al, your shoe is untied."

I bent down under the table to check my shoe, which I should have remembered was a loafer. But when I popped my head back up, I would swear there were about ten fries missing from my plate.

Write soon, Al

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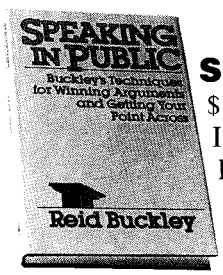

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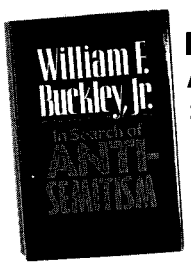

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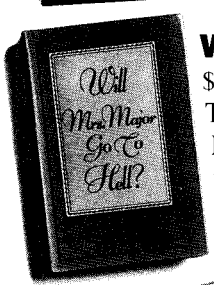

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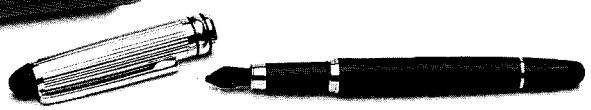

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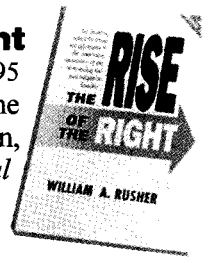

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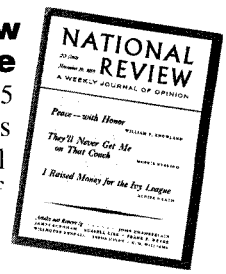

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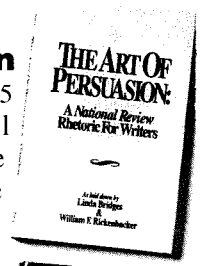

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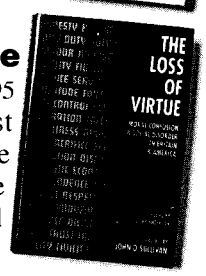

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The Peruvian Candidate

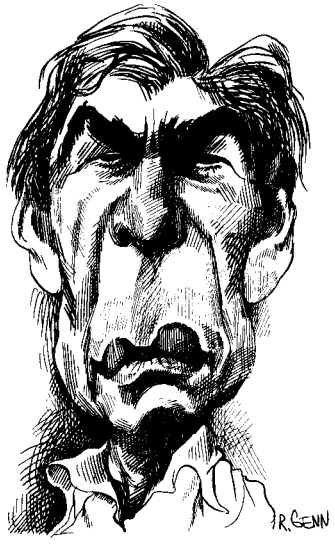
HUGH THOMAS

A BRILLIANT and successful novelist becomes so famous in his country that he turns to politics. A great speech opposing the nationalization of banks makes him an obvious leader of a new alliance of parties, some new, some old. He becomes the presidential candidate. Though the governing party hates him and tries an extraordinary number of dirty tricks against him, for months he is the leader in the polls. He is the first political leader to seem to ride to power on a distrust of power, derived from a careful reading of Aron, Popper, Hayek, Friedman, even Nozick. Then the presidency is stolen from him by a last-minute surge of support by the poor for an unknown Japanese immigrant. The novelist leaves for Paris, his country headed for ruin. But he, we know, will survive and prosper, for Paris has always been for him a mecca of the imagination, always "a moving spiritual and aesthetic experience, like burying oneself in a great book." And he had, too, "from an early age . . . that ability to take leave of everything around me, to live in a world of fantasy, to recreate through imagination the make-believe stories that held me spellbound."

A Fish in Water: A Memoir, by Mario Vargas Llosa, translated by Helen Lane (Farrar, Straus, 532 pp., $25)

A scenario like this would be enough to destroy any normal writer. The events are too many, too confusing, too breathtaking. Mario Vargas Llosa rises triumphantly to the unprecedented challenge. His memoir is a dazzling performance, one of his very best books, full of curious, even surreal, events such as the last-minute intervention of the archbishop of Lima at Vargas Llosa's house after his defeat in the first round of the election.

The success of the book is even more remarkable since the author has chosen to interweave with his descriptions of his political life in the 1980s and 1990s an account of his own upbringing, mostly in Piura in northern Peru. This is followed by the fascinating story of his early life in Lima, his horrible times with his jealous and brutal father, his first loves and his first reading (the influence of Dumas is of particular interest). Then there are his first jobs, of which he once had seven at the same time. The description of life on the newspaper *La Crónica* is splendid, particularly the passages where he describes working with the chief crime reporter, Becerrita, a figure straight from Balzac, "with his vitriolic little eyes, grainy from lack of sleep, perpetually watchful, his shiny suits pressed countless times, reeking of tobacco and sweat . . . a citizen of Hell, for whom the underworld haunts of the city held no secrets."



Roman Genn

Equally to the point is the paragraph on the swan song of the Peruvian brothel—an event that led the way, in the author's opinion, to "the banalization of sex . . . stripped of mystery and taboos . . . a (mere) gymnastic exercise, a temporary diversion," something very different from "the central mystery of life," of which the brothel was the temple.

My only complaint about the book is that there is, as it were, a large gap in the middle. The childhood-and-youth section ends with the departure of Vargas Llosa with his first wife, his aunt Julia, for Paris in 1958; and his launching of the Freedom movement after the great meeting protesting against the Socialist Party in 1987. What, the reader wants urgently to know, happened in between? Of course, the reader of Vargas Llosa's other works knows all about Aunt Julia, and most of us know that, at some point in the Sixties, perhaps in London, Vargas Llosa ceased to support the Left. The author became famous nationally and internationally. But what about the end of his marriage with Julia, his second marriage, with his cousin Patricia, who plays quite a part in the account of the campaign of 1991? How long did he live in Paris? Etc. Of course, all this will presumably be material for another volume of memoirs, doubtless just as interesting, though for drama, irony, and unexpected events this volume will be hard to beat.

One of the charms of this book is the pictures given of people who influenced Mario Vargas Llosa at different stages in his career. The heroes include the delightful Llosa family, so much of a contrast with the Vargases, even though the author's father in the end emerges as an impoverished worker in the United States, never taking a penny from his successful son. Among remote relations on his mother's side was Uncle José Luis—well-spoken, bow-tied, his hat with ribbon-bound brim, and his short legs wide apart—who became suddenly and briefly president of the republic in the Forties. There is a quick portrait of the honest and generous anthropologist Efrain Morote Best, later a guru of the murderous Shining Path movement. Then there is the great scholar

Hugh Thomas is the author of The Spanish Civil War, Suez, *and, most recently,* Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico, *published in March by Simon & Schuster.*

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and historian, later foreign minister Porras Barrenechea, for whom the author worked as a research assistant, and who, despite years of labor, never finished his study of the conquest by Pizarro. Another fine passage is Vargas Llosa's brooding on why so many intellectuals take up left-wing attitudes: for the great majority of them, such beliefs "were only a strategy to get ahead." One of these opportunists confirmed that to a friend: "Tell Mario not to pay attention to the things that I am declaring against him, because they represent only favorable opportunities for me."

The pictures of Peruvian life and tragedy are graphic and interesting. Vargas Llosa's visit to Amazonia in 1958 is particularly well done. So is the conversion of the campaign into a battle between Catholics and Evangelicals, as is the sudden outburst of racism among Vargas Llosa's middle-class supporters once they realized that their horrified candidate might be beaten by Alberto Fujimori, a candidate whose ancestors were not buried in Peru and whose Spanish was so rough. The author describes very well—a paragraph, no more—how he campaigned in Ayacucho to find a horde of people who seemed completely savage advancing upon him.

It is a mark of a great writer to make what in other hands would be minor matters seem universally interesting. So it is here, with countless impressions of fascinating and improbable encounters as well as curious ones. For example, Vargas Llosa's realization that politics, "real politics, not the kind one reads and writes about . . . has little to do with ideas, values, and imagination . . . and everything to do with maneuvers, intrigues, plots, paranoias, betrayals, a great deal of calculation, no little cynicism, and every kind of con game." This is a great book. I urge all who read this review to buy it immediately. They may think I have understated its merits. □

Out of Austria

RALPH HARRIS

FOR the growing legion of Hayek fans this charming volume is the next best thing to bringing the great man back from the dead for a chat about old campaigns and famous victories. How rare, for this reviewer at least, to wish a book were twice or three times as long. As it is, I rather resented that 35 of 155 pages

Hayek on Hayek, edited by Stephen Kresge and Lief Wenar (Chicago, 200 pp., $27.50)

of text were taken up by a rather pretentious, meandering introduction which may overwhelm the layman without satisfying the *cognoscente*.

Anyone who has even contemplated venturing into the swamps of autobiography might privately acknowledge that, if not vanity, then self-indulgence is at least a large part of the motivation. Of such human vices Hayek hereby stands acquitted. To outsiders a fearsome intellectual, he certainly revealed himself to friends as an intensely human individual, but with more humility than most. Indeed, the autobiographical notes that form the core of *Hayek on Hayek* (supplemented by extracts from unpublished recorded interviews, now called "oral archives") were never intended for publication but as an aid to whoever was saddled in the future with preparing a sketch of his life, which election to the British Academy in 1945 had made inevitable. Since little would then be known of his early days, Hayek announces at the outset his intention of helping "whoever will have to undertake the ungrateful task of discovering interesting facts about an externally rather uneventful life."

At once the reader is plunged into the happy family life of a comfortably-off Viennese municipal doctor with a passion for systematic botany which alerted the young "Fritz" to the "puzzle of the existence of clearly defined classes," which in turn shifted his interest around the age of 16 to man and evolution. His parents, being lapsed Roman Catholics, never took him to church and, after a religious phase at 10 when he made confessions and took Communion, by 15 he found that nobody could explain the meaning of the word "God" and was caught reading a socialist pamphlet in divinity lesson. He nevertheless always scrupulously avoided advertising his lack of belief, acknowledged the role of Christianity in developing the moral tradition underlying markets, and continued ambivalently to hold to the view that of all denominations Catholicism remained the "true article."

At school he fell foul of a succession of teachers, consistently neglected homework, even failing exams and having to repeat the fourth year. He obligingly offers his own report: "intelligent but lazy . . . a voracious reader," adding "I do not think I was then of the 'intellectual' type . . . "! Later, with equally innocent candor, he reveals as a surprising "self-discovery," from active war service and mountaineering, that he was "in a sense, fearless physically."

Of officers' school in 1917 he says it was "the first time I really proved to myself (what I seem never to have seriously doubted) that if I really wanted I could, without much effort, do as well as the best of my fellows." Back from the war, he marvels at his newfound energy after recovering from malaria; he went dancing most evenings and worked hard at several branches of study, for which he claims no credit and which he attributes to "a certain stability."

There follow the most absorbing revelations of his scholarly development in the intellectual ferment of Vienna, where students still repaired to coffee shops, endlessly discussing lectures and the two dominant topics, Marxism and psychoanalysis. In the background were often violent confrontations between Socialists, Communists, and Catholics, which brought Hayek into active party politics for the only time in his life, helping organize a German Democratic Party as what he might later have been inclined to denounce as "the middle way."

After toying with psychology, he settled for economics, law, and languages to open the way to the diplomatic service, followed by an academic or political appointment. Among the now familiar names of the Austrian School, Hayek compares and contrasts such greats as Menger, Böhm-Bawerk, and von Wieser, as well as near contemporaries such as von Mises (his chief

Ralph Harris is founder-president of the Institute of Economic Affairs.

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mentor and earliest patron), Schumpeter, Popper, Haberler, Morgenstern, Machlup. Of many revelations about his own economic progress I was particularly fascinated by his momentary interest in a group of Henry George supporters of a single land tax which "seems to me *to the present day* the theoretically most defensible of all socialist proposals and impractical only because of the de facto impossibility of distinguishing between the original and permanent powers of the soil and the different kinds of improvements."

Asked whether Mises was excluded from a professorship by reason of being Jewish, Hayek somewhat nervously confides that although Jews had to struggle against prejudice, they made up half the law faculty and simply did not fancy Mises as a colleague—perhaps because he fell out with everyone (except Hayek) who disagreed with him! He points out that the anti-Semitism of the Twenties and Thirties was a new phenomenon caused by wartime immigration of Jews from Poland and Russia "with cap on and long beards which hadn't been known before."

Although for me this opening section on student days in Vienna was the most riveting, I continued to linger entranced over every page and all 28 pictures. Having launched into these recollections simply to help a future British Academy biographer with his unknown early life, Hayek gets into his stride on the more familiar later period of his first job with Mises, his invitation to the London School of Economics by Lionel Robbins (his closest friend, with whom he "worked beautifully" until Robbins got snared into government war service and "became a statesman instead of an economist"), the reception of *Road to Serfdom* (of which the *Reader's Digest* condensation by Max Eastman yielded no royalties but shot Hayek to instant fame on the public lecture circuit in the States), his shift to Chicago followed in 1960 by a severe depression (coinciding with giving up his pipe) which returned a decade later and continued until shortly before the awarding of the Nobel Prize in 1974.

Woven into the story is a running commentary on the genesis of all his major works, not only *The Constitution of Liberty* and *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*, but also the *Counter-revolution of Science* (intended to restore his battered scholarly reputation after *The Road to Serfdom*) and a brief essay entitled "Economics and Knowledge" (1936), which he elevates to "the decisive step in the development of my thinking"; he says that it, along with some later related papers collected in *Individualism and Economic Order*, "seems to me in retrospect the most original contribution I have made to the theory of economics."

Scattered liberally throughout are charming anecdotes, like almost becoming a dishwasher at a Sixth Avenue restaurant in 1923, spiced with uninhibited personal evaluations of the dubious economic credentials of, for example, fellow Nobel Laureate Leontief, and the Hungarian pair, amiable Kaldor and universally detested Balogh, known respectively as Buda and Pest. Looming large is the "bewitching" Keynes, who Hayek admits had been an early hero. Keynes turned out too changeable, yet became unchallengeable after being "raised to sainthood" on his death; he was immune from popular criticism for 25 years until the dual blight of high unemployment and rapid inflation confirmed Hayek's earlier predictions of failure.

Hayek's American friends will, I am sure, forgive his eloquent reasons for liking English ways of life, especially Cambridge—"like stepping into a warm bath where the atmosphere is the same temperature as your body"—in preference to the United States, or even Austria, or Germany, where he finally settled to suit his second wife. Despite editorial lapses in the admittedly difficult job of stitching the parts together, I have no hesitation in urging even my impoverished younger and older friends to acquire a personal copy and then take their time reading and re-reading these delightful reminiscences and reflections. They portray the perfectly fulfilled life of this man for all seasons and centuries. □

What's in a Name?

LIAH GREENFELD

THOUGH the title might lead the reader to expect otherwise, the focus of William Pfaff's new book is none other than the human condition. It is wholly appropriate then that the book should fall, as it does by the author's own admission, into the category of "conjectures of dilettantes." Mr. Pfaff's aim appears to be neither analytical nor polemical, but meditative. He does not seek to persuade or to prove his point of view and seems satisfied to share his reflections. "I argue about these matters," he writes. "I cannot prove them, nor can anyone else."

The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism, by William Pfaff (Simon & Schuster, 256 pp., $22)

If there is a coherent argument to the book, it is an argument about progress. There is none, claims Mr. Pfaff, if progress is understood as "a natural development toward higher and implicitly more virtuous forms of political and social organization and conduct." To think that we are morally superior to those who lived before us (or more sophisticated and intelligent) is arrogant; the resurgence of murderous nationalisms—in Yugoslavia and elsewhere—is a proof that today man is as capable of evil, and as foolish, as ever.

This is a conclusion with which one

Liah Greenfeld is a Fellow of the University Professors at Boston University and the author of Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity *(Harvard).*

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cannot argue, though a cynic might ask whether at the end of the twentieth century, which hardly encouraged a belief in the moral progress of humanity, it needs further proof. The answer to the cynic is yes, apparently it does, for it was the idea of progress that justified our premature celebration of the end of history a couple of years back and led Western observers to misinterpret completely the nature of the transformation in Eastern Europe. We *did* believe that things could only get better: that despotism is necessarily replaced by greater freedom, that increased efficiency (or a desire for increased efficiency) produces increased happiness. Matters proved to be more complex, and no proof was more tangible than that of the unhappy (and clearly inefficient) rage of post-Communist nationalisms—the wrath of nations.

Abandoning a belief in progress, with us as its culmination—and assuming in its place the "moral constancy and continuity of man through millennia"—has serious implications. Among other things, it implies that social and political systems must be treated as morally equivalent, and that we have no right to pass judgment on systems different from our own. For moral superiority and depravity can be attributed only to agents exercising moral choice—individuals. If the moral level of humanity is a constant, one has to assume a roughly constant distribution of moral, immoral, and morally indifferent people in every type of society. This means that no society can be considered, morally, better or worse than another. Moreover, rejecting the possibility of progress presupposes that it is at least conceivable that there is no universal morality. This too would make moral comparisons, and therefore judgment, impossible.

But the right to judge is not something one gives up easily. And it becomes all the dearer at times of national self-doubt. As Mr. Pfaff notes, such self-doubt has been the mood of the United States since the Vietnam crisis. When sources of moral confidence dry up within, one tries to find them elsewhere. So it is not at all coincidental that the end of history—the world's presumed conversion to our liberal-democratic faith—was celebrated exactly at the time when we were no longer happy with, or even sure of, what we were.

Progress is the subject of the concluding chapter of *The Wrath of Nations*. The rest of the book consists of evidence of man's unchangeable moral nature—drawn mostly from the history of modern nationalisms. The book is, therefore, also a meditation on the nature of nationalism. It puts the current nationalist eruption in historical perspective and underscores the complexity of the phenomenon. And yet, the book is not about nationalism. Though Mr. Pfaff is not entirely consistent (at one point nationalism is defined as "a phenomenon of the European nineteenth century"), throughout the text nationalism is referred to as an expression "of human identities," "social and moral realities at the core of human existence," "primordial attachments of an individual to a group," "a form of love of self." Such generic formulations do not allow us to distinguish *national* identity and attachment from any other of the possible and historically prior identities and attachments. Nor are they much help in telling us what nationalism contributes to the political experience of the modern age, beyond giving expression to the constant tendencies of human nature. Having defined nationalism as a matter of human nature (and deprived it of its specificity), *The Wrath of Nations*, by definition, becomes a book about human nature. Its subtitle, *Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism*, itself juxtaposes nationalism and civilization, implying that nationalism is a phenomenon of psychology, rather than of culture and history. Calling it something like *The Wrath of Nature: Civilization and the Furies of the Id* would clear things up and do the contents of the book more justice.

What's in a name? one might ask. And yet the title clouds the book's main contribution. The questions it raises—about the human condition, progress, and moral judgment—are very important; they should be reflected upon again and again, and Mr. Pfaff performs a valuable service by offering the reader a framework for doing so. But presenting them under the guise of a different set of problems, to the elucidation of which *The Wrath of Nations* contributes little, may both deprive these questions of the attention they deserve on their own and deprive the book of the recognition it deserves for raising them. □

Only Rock 'n' Roll?

MARK CUNNINGHAM

Hole in Our Soul: The Loss of Beauty and Meaning in American Popular Music, by Martha Bayles (Free Press, 453 pp., $24.95)

MOST of us under the age of fifty who worry about the decline of the West, while also trying to lead normal lives, lose a bit of sleep now and then over the Problem of Rock.

We grew up with rock, are surrounded by it, depend on it for cultural allusion, as an aid to concentration or distraction, and as a stimulus to casual reminiscence and self-expression. We also enjoy it, usually to the extent of spending thousands on recordings, tickets, sound equipment. Any attempt to reject it would not only be futile, but would feel like a kind of self-mutilation.

Then too, the familiar, superficially conservative critique is ill-informed. Much of rock isn't very good, but the same is true of pre-Fifties popular music and everything else that can be cheaply mass-produced. An ear willing to hear, a body willing to dance, can discover rock's virtues: vigor and charm, an aptitude for capturing earthly joys and sorrows, sound that encapsulates and encourages motion of body and spirit.

Some personal experiences here may illustrate. The more powerful ones that come to mind have involved

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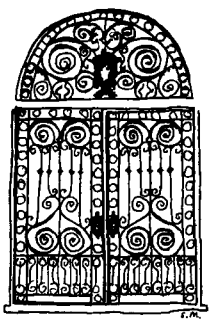
rock soothing the savage breast: the Beatles' "Let It Be" and the Grateful Dead's "Touch of Grey" were of considerable solace on two occasions when I've had to absorb the fact of sudden, tragic death. The words and music to "Let It Be" combine to produce peace and acceptance; of "Touch of Grey" (with its refrain "I will get by"), perseverance and a sense of continuity. Such a talismanic, psychological use of rock makes a poor substitute for religious engagement; but for me, at least, it was on both occasions merely a secular counterpoint to rather involved dialogues with God.



At the other extreme, rock is a necessary part of a proper carouse. Cutting loose requires good company, dim lighting, cheap booze, and a solid jukebox. As the prelude to the tenor solo of the "Ode to Joy" is indispensable to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, so too, in a more modest way, do "L.A. Woman" (on the box at Blue & Gold on 8th Street), "Heroin" (at Alcatraz at 10th and Avenue A), and "Paint It, Black" (at Downtown Beirut on First Avenue) all belong on the soundtrack of an East Village barhop.

And yet so much of rock is plainly destructive—increasingly plain and increasingly destructive as the years pass: intimately tied, in obvious ways, to the idiocy of the Sixties, the onanism of the Seventies, the cynicism of the Eighties, and the nihilism of the Nineties. More, the music itself becomes less musical—speed metal, the more "legitimate" forms of "alternative rock," rap.

Faced with this fact, there are those who just reject rock: the more seriously religious and high-art conservatives. And there are those who avoid the dilemma by rejecting social-conservative concerns, by overlooking their more disturbing implications, or by avoiding principled intellectual examination altogether: people who, in my experience at least, variously call themselves libertarians, neocons, or "just plain Republicans."

Those of us who decline to shape our ideology to fit our tastes, and vice versa, find no answers in rock criticism, which though often sophisticated is typically inspired by various leftisms. The main source of intellectual discomfort for such critics is not rock's antipathy to the good things in life, but its affinity for them.

Enter Martha Bayles, onetime *Wall Street Journal* art and TV critic, with *Hole in Our Soul*, a clear, witty, and gloriously level-headed examination of what is wrong and right with American popular music and its critics. The book is ostensibly directed at those who find no flaws in today's music, but the author is too subtle a thinker, and too great a music lover, to restrict herself to the level of Camille Paglia and other Madonna fans.

The work is a history in form and an argument in fact. The argument is that rock is, as is generally understood, a mainstream popularization of black music (blues, R&B) bred with country-western, but that that popularization is, essentially, a good thing. The force responsible for rock's ills, besides its sometimes unfortunate reactions to racial and technological changes in society, is modernism.

Starting from the work of, among others, Jacques Barzun, Miss Bayles divides modernism into three parts, two of them malign. Introverted modernism, the Art for Art's Sake school, produces nothing of interest to anyone besides the artist himself; perverse modernism, the "tear it down" camp, leaves nothing standing and erects nothing in its place.

Extroverted modernism, however, maintains the modernist insights into the difficulties of accurate perception, the tensions between truth and life, and the intrinsic value of art, while retaining traditional concerns for extrinsic expression and, especially, for the audience and for tradition itself.

To demonstrate this scheme, Miss Bayles compares jazz and cubism. She finds early jazz comparable to later cubism (Picasso) in its vigor and popularity, while later jazz (be-bop), like early, colorless cubism, was over-refined and -abstracted.

Her Part I, in which she lays out these and other preliminaries, is marvelously revisionist intellectual history. After rescuing blues and jazz as a worthy part of the Western idiom (and Afro-Americans as Americans), she dances a series of jigs on the heads of social critics who failed to comprehend them. Early critiques were mainly racist; later observers, from the Frankfurt School ("the forced marriage of Stalinism and high culture") through Dwight Macdonald, were blinded by Marxist and other misconceptions:

> The heirs of the Popular Front keep trying to use popular culture to send "progressive" messages to the masses. The heirs of the Frankfurt School keep attacking this "politicization," while denying popular culture any claim to artistic integrity. And public discourse on the topic keeps getting reduced to the same stupid question: Is popular culture junk, or is it junk being used as propaganda?

The remaining three parts turn conventional rock criticism on its head, repeatedly demonstrating its dependence on various foolishnesses. The first myth to die is the idea that rock 'n' roll was revolutionary. Every sup-

Mr. Cunningham, a former articles editor at NR*, is chief editorial writer at* Investor's Business Daily.

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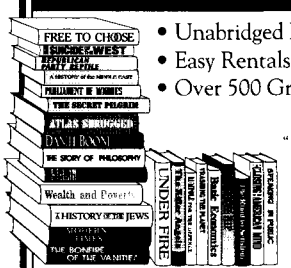

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posed "first," in music, lyrics, and even the crossing of racial lines, had ample precedent. The whole link between rock and juvenile delinquency was a sociologists' creation: "Rock around the Clock" was added to *Blackboard Jungle* as an afterthought, and only begins and ends the film, whose teen violence is accomplished to the beat of Bix Biederbecke.

Rather than revolution, rock 'n' roll should be viewed in the light of Pentecostalism—the faith that gave us Jerry Lee Lewis, Little Richard, and Elvis Presley—which had incorporated Afro-American music into its services generations earlier. Lewis almost refused to record "Great Balls of Fire" because he felt it was blasphemous; Little Richard has had an off-again, on-again, relation with churches throughout his life.

All three Pentecostals suffered because of limitations related to their unsophisticated backgrounds. Presley, surrounding himself with mediocre cronies, rarely realized his full, remarkable musical talents, usually sang weak lyrics, and died a caricature of white trash *nouveau riche*. (The tension surrounding the secularization of holy music, and the attempt to achieve material transcendence through drugs, would later destroy such greats as Marvin Gaye and Sly Stone.)

The real revolution came in the Sixties, with the British invasion. These groups came largely from highbrow Brit traditions which imposed modernist filters on the blues. Much of the music of the British invasion was good—and closer to its black American roots than what white Americans were doing. But success often came tied to a supposed sophistication that belied the connection.

The working-class Beatles were willing to put on a camp show; their accents and John Lennon's posturing certainly gave them an intellectual patina. The Rolling Stones, less gifted but slightly more privileged and intellectually correct, were basically clever showmen, stealing the best of the blues (Muddy Waters, Robert Johnson), simplifying its nuanced worldliness into primitive sexuality, and adding a healthy dollop of homeroticism.

Mind you, I *like* the Stones—more than the Beatles—but a sensible critic has to realize that they were playing with inherently potent stuff. Playing with firearms and driving while drunk are great fun, too. Pretending that such activities are liberating, even morally superior, is the kind of foolishness Orwell expected of intellectuals.

I won't try to sketch the rest of rock history as told by Miss Bayles; suffice it to say that in every case her reasoned conclusions match what an open-minded person would conclude from listening to the music. She exposes the sham of the Sex Pistols, while giving the better New Wave and punk groups their due respect. The worst of rap is shown for the tragedy it is: blacks embracing the repulsive character traits racists have projected on them for hundreds of years.

It would be too optimistic to hope that *Hole in Our Soul* will greatly influence mainstream rock criticism, which is more likely to slide off into the same irrelevance as every other kind of criticism. One can, however, hope this book will inspire a more profound understanding of, and thus a greater appreciation for, popular music among those who do think—not least in the conservative press. □

FILM

The Spirits and the Flesh

JOHN SIMON

HAVING no stomach for magic realism—I tried twice to get through *A Hundred Years of Solitude*, but never made it past page 52—I certainly wasn't going to read Isabel Allende's ***The House of the Spirits***, a sprawling family saga *cum* allegory of Chilean history by the niece of the assassinated Salvador Allende. But whatever that novel may be like, it's got to be better than the movie Bille August has made from it. Why? Because nothing could be worse than the movie, which is the very epitome of trash.

Sad, considering that the Danish filmmaker has previously given us the marvelous *Pelle the Conqueror* and the estimable *The Best Intentions*, from a script by Ingmar Bergman. I do not hold with those who glibly assert that a Dane has no business making a movie about South America, though here, for once, the smartasses may have a point. Much has been made by the scoffers of the motley cast. We have three Americans: Meryl Streep, Glenn Close, Winona Ryder; two Brits: Vanessa Redgrave, Jeremy Irons; one half-Brit, half-Indian: Sarita Choudury; one German: Armin Müller-Stahl; one (presumed) Austrian: Jan Niklas; one Spaniard (we are getting warmer): Antonio Banderas; one Venezuelan (hot, in both senses): Maria Conchita Alonso; and one Hispanic of uncertain nationality (probably American): Joaquin Martinez.

But this, too, is hogwash. A good actor can play any nationality if he can control his hair dye, makeup, and accent. As it happens, two Hispanics—Miss Alonso and Mr. Martinez—come off best here; but, in truth, they have rather undemanding roles. Conversely, Mr. Banderas as the *jeune premier* gives a routine, not to say boring, performance, doing nothing more than looking intense and Latino, as he also did, most recently, as Tom Hanks's lover in *Philadelphia*. There is no reason for the rest to be any worse, except that their parts are bigger and sillier, giving them more generous opportunities to hang themselves.

This is the story of a proper but poor young man, Esteban Trueba (Mr. Irons), who seeks to marry—way above his station—the beautiful young Rosa del Valle (Teri Polo, and really beautiful). Her rich bourgeois parents (Miss Redgrave and Mr. Müller-Stahl) advise him to get wealthy first, and married later. Meanwhile Rosa's little sister, Clara, already evinces a strong yearning for Esteban, but for now can only impress him with her occult talents, such as telekinesis, a small display of which she proffers. You'd think that such a handy (or handless) skill would be put to good use later on, but no: after moving a couple of objects about telekinetically, she seems never again to resort to it.

Esteban strikes lavish gold as a miner, but Rosa, as predicted by Clara (who may have practiced another use-

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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ful gift, though the movie won't come out and say it), dies horribly, for no medically sound reason, but at least makes a very pretty cadaver until an explicit postmortem is performed on her, which may delight the more sadistic necrophiliacs in the audience. The hapless Esteban takes over an abandoned hacienda, Tres Marias, and converts it into a fabulous estate, and himself into a leading right-wing politician. Little Clara retreats into a mute, murky realm of visions, watched over by her mother, Nivea, a good name for a face cream, but no less so for a mother who'll protect her daughter's skin even after death. (Nivea is only one of several characters here who do not take death lying down.)

When Esteban comes back for Clara twenty years later, the girl has shed her fantasies and turned into Meryl Streep—well, win one, lose one. Her guessing why he has come amazes Esteban, who has obviously been too busy to see many movies. He takes his bride to Tres Marias, which is overseen by his spinster sister Ferula (Miss Close), who first had a sort of incestuous crush on her brother, and now develops a sort of lesbian one on his wife. But, mind you, all very properly, sort of.

There are two absolutely sure signs for spotting total trash. One is a whore with a heart of gold, the other is a one-shot tumble in the hay that results not only in a bastard, but also one (usually sinister) who'll play a major part in the plot. *The House of the Spirits* has both, which is like wearing belt and suspenders, only more indecent. I'll spare you the details, but must tell you (lest you get your hopes up) that the rape in question, like all the sex here, is rather tame, and that the bastard, though suitably evil, has some justification for his grudge, and turns in the end—if I understand the jerky story-telling and quirky editing correctly—into a bit of a softie. Well, since everyone else in the movie does, why not he? I realize that I haven't hit the really trashy parts yet, and haven't even brought in Winona Ryder, exquisitely mated with Mr. Banderas in their lack of talent. But space allows me at least coverage of my favorite bit.

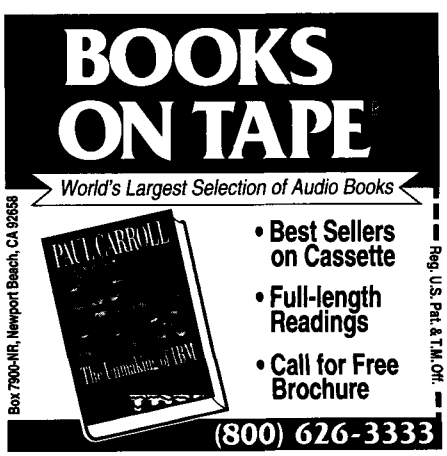
Clara, you see, espoused mutism for twenty years. This may be because, unlike Esteban, she did find time for *The Piano*, or it may be because mute women are the coming thing in the cinema. Anyway, for years of her marriage she chattered away like a magpie, but when the boorish Esteban threatens to hit her, she warns him she will never speak to him again if he does. Well, he does, and she doesn't. She leaves him, but when, after another batch of years, they resume their marriage, everything is lovey-dovey save one thing; Clara, true to her vow, never speaks directly to her husband, only through third parties. Now that's what I call a stroke of narrative genius!

Jeremy Irons, who has been growing more and more unwholesomely overripe from film to film, surpasses himself: trying hard to look and sound Hispanic, mean as Hell on the outside but vulnerable underneath, he is so overripe as to be rotten. Meryl Streep gives a quiet, restrained performance, but as I found her neither Latin nor appealing, my enthusiasm is similarly restrained. Glenn Close, on the other hand, has never looked, acted, or been costumed more like a wicked witch, and why it isn't she who has the telekinesis, I shall never know. The exteriors were shot in Portugal, which, whether or not it looks like Chile, is gorgeous, especially as photographed by the superb Swedish cinematographer Jörgen Persson, who, with the help of Anna Asp, Bergman's former production designer, has made the film look spectacular. If you can, by telekinesis or any other way, remove the plot, characters, and dialogue, you can have a perfectly grand time of it. Otherwise not.

■ New York is threatening to become a wall-to-wall Hugh Grant festival. I have just reviewed him in *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, and here he comes in ***Sirens*** and *Bitter Moon*. *Sirens* is a good-bad movie that, if you are willing to settle for some pretty harmless hokum about art, religion, sensuality, and repression, plus one stunning and several attractive women in various stages of undress, you can bear to sit through in a state of benign indolence.

Though the film is fiction, one of its principal characters is Norman Lindsay, Australia's most famous erotic artist and illustrator, who here functions as a Pan figure, obsessedly painting his priapic images, disbursing Dionysiac philosophy, and spreading an air of amused abandon among his three female models, his one male one, his wife, who also models, and his offspring of blond cherubs, who in due time will surely follow suit—or, rather, suitless. Into this unfettered oasis in the outback circa 1930—an earthly paradise except for a certain paucity of desirable males (the one male model, a handsome bushman, has to be stud to all)—come the Reverend Anthony Campion, Cambridge-bred and liberal, and his wife, Estella. They call each other Pooh and Piglet, are very English, and make love sheathed in their bedwear. Campion has been deputized by his Anglican bishop to talk Lindsay out of exhibiting his most controversial painting, *The Crucified Venus*. The mission of Springwood (the actual Lindsay estate, where this was filmed) is to emancipate the Campions.

The story is inconsequential, and the philosophical debate between the artist and clergyman close to sophomoric. But the Blue Mountains of New South Wales and Springwood look entrancing enough, and the women's bodies easily as good. Elle Macpherson proves amply why she is Australia's gift to international supermodeldom, and her acting is no worse than that of any supermodel-turned-movie-actress. The others look less lush, but act better. A bountiful selection of Australia's fauna and flora make cameo appearances, and there is even a sizable snake in this paradise, but it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does no greater damage than knocking over a teacup.

As the Campions, Hugh Grant and Tara Fitzgerald are enormously personable. Grant once again plays the male *ingénu* in need of sensory fulfillment, at which he is getting to be a past master. Tara Fitzgerald, as charming as she was in *Hear My Song*, is all heart-shaped face, pouty mouth, and *farouche* demeanor. They manage their respective sexual awakenings admirably. Only Sam Neill doesn't quite come off as Lindsay: his subversiveness is nicely relaxed, but not magnetic enough.

Still, the film, written and directed by that amiable Australian John Duigan, displays some genuine innocence, and if it does not rise to erotic heights, neither does it become oafish or smutty. From his constant cameraman, Geoffrey Burton, Duigan gets some enchanting landscape shots, a mite predictably punctuating the human cavortings. There is a civilized score by Rachel Portman into which a rollicking Vaughan Williams march can fit itself without having to blush at its musical surroundings. Neither will you at the film, which wears its nudity lightly. □

MANNERS IN QUESTION

Second Thoughts about Gossip

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

IN HIS "Delectations" column last issue, my colleague Taki Theodoracopulos defended the pleasure of gossip, citing primarily its importance to future historians ("Have You Heard?" May 2). What, this puritanical editor thought, will history record about the family relations of Leon Klinghoffer?

That ill-fated old man, pitched in his wheelchair over the side of the cruiseship *Achille Lauro* by Palestinian terrorists in 1985, was my third cousin twice removed—in other words, no relation. That's why I never mentioned him to my friend Lisa, and why I was startled the other night. She announced, "I have a personal question to ask you." After hesitating—"No, it's too sensitive. Forget it. Well, all right"—Lisa looked earnest and said, "You've never told me what it's like being Leon Klinghoffer's grandson!"

When I asked where she had picked up this piece of intelligence, she said from a couple of gossips at the party where we first met. She had spent the intervening years thinking the reason I never mentioned Grandpa Leon was that the memory was too painful to put in words. On many occasions she worried about causing offense by talking too breezily about boats, seafaring, and water in general.

Despite Lisa's distress, attacking gossip—which is what I mean to do—isn't as easy as you might think. It's like shooting fish in a barrel, for a person with a sentimental attachment to fish. After all, telling stories about other people *is* a delectation. Asserting the Deuteronomic view on "tale-bearing" makes you feel like a sourpuss. And then Taki has the interests of historians on his side: "Without gossip, history as we know it would not exist." Or does he?

We define gossip as personal information without corroboration, conveyed orally or in writing. What this definition overlooks is motivation. Some gossip serves to warn friends about the evil inclinations of others. Recently in a Jewish publication I saw an advertisement dominated by a drawing of a very stern-looking, bearded rabbi of the nineteenth century, the Chofetz Chaim, who wrote a book about gossip called *Guard Your Tongue*. At the bottom of the page was a "hotline" number to call anonymously if you have information about someone's potential marriage or business partner. A rabbi at the other end will tell you whether your gossip is important enough to pass along. If not, guard your tongue!

Of course most gossiping—the fun kind—is inspired by less high-minded considerations than saving an innocent bride from her brute of a bridegroom. Unashamed malice is more like it, or at best the guilty pleasure of savoring someone else's discomfort. With deference to Taki's historians, these motivations should make us skeptical about the truth status of most gossip.

In fact I propose the following, disappointing axiom: Most gossip is, if not false, then a species of truth as damaged in transit as many a postal parcel in New York City. Sometimes you can appreciate it for just this quality: gossip so naïvely, patently fictional as to be almost touching. Take the more credulous present-day political gossip. With its hypothesis of an omnipotent secret government run by our hapless Central Intelligence Agency, the movie *JFK* falls into this category. So does some of the gossip of those famous Arkansas state troopers—however much we may wish that everything they've said about the President were true. My favorite piece of obviously false trooper-gossip, from David Brock's delectable collection in *The American Spectator*, is the one where Vincent Foster comes up behind Mrs. Clinton at her birthday party at a Little Rock restaurant. In front of various onlookers he squeezes her rear end, then puts a hand on her breast, causing Mrs. Clinton to coo, "Oh Vince. Oh Vince."

Oh Taki: the real problem comes with gossip that might be *true*. Taki invokes the authority of Nigel Dempster, "England's greatest gossip writer," who "believes that four hundred years from now, people will read the gossip columns to find out what twentieth-century life was really like." If so, future students will be as badly informed about us as we are today about people who lived four hundred years before us.

The journalist Janet Malcolm takes up the problem of history through gossip in her fascinating new book, *The Silent Woman: Sylvia Plath & Ted Hughes* (Knopf). The book is less about the dead poetess, a suicide by gas oven in 1963, than about her postmortem feminist biographers. Miss Malcolm casts doubt on the morality of writing biographies in the first place—with their promise to provide "the pleasure of hearing ill of the dead" cloaked by the pretension of scholarly investigation. But, she writes, this pleasure "pales before the pleasure of hearing ill of the living," and it is the living, especially Sylvia Plath's widower, Ted Hughes, to whom the feminist Plath biographers have devoted their most vicious attention. The resulting myth—of Miss Plath as a tender flower snapped at the stem by the

Mr. Klinghoffer is NR*'s literary editor.*

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evil, womanizing Ted Hughes, a myth built from gossip combined with resentment at the control over private papers by Mr. Hughes and his sister Olwyn—is powerfully deconstructed by Miss Malcolm.

It is the very rare Ted Hughes, however, who has his Janet Malcolm to defend him. And even with her, it's likely that history books will accept the sexier version of the story, thus implicating generations of literature students in maligning Mr. Hughes. The Talmud applies an interesting term to the mutual entanglements caused by slander: *lishan telitaë*. This means that the bearer of nasty, false tales speaks with a kind of triple-pronged tongue; gossip "slays three persons: the speaker, the spoken to, and the spoken of."

Sorry, I didn't mean to scare you. Ordinary gossip isn't *that* bad. The bottom line here is to take a hard view of all too deliciously interesting claims. This applies to gossip, and calls for a manly reluctance to engage in it ourselves. Yes, manly. Not for no reason do we associate catty gossip with effeminacy, as evident in the swishy stereotype of newspaper gossip writers. The penname of the gossip columnist in Evelyn Waugh's *Vile Bodies*, "Mr. Chatterbox," says it all.

By the way, have you heard? Taki *never* gossips. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Certain Trumpets: The Call of Leaders, by Garry Wills (Simon & Schuster, 323 pp., $23)

IN THE introduction to this odd volume, Garry Wills asks if successful leaders are superior beings who impose themselves on men and events, and answers, sensibly, that things are more complicated than that: "Most literature on leadership is unitarian. But life is trinitarian. One-legged and two-legged chairs do not, of themselves, stand. A third leg is needed. Leaders, followers, and goals make up the three equally necessary supports for leadership." This promising beginning is followed by 16 essays on disparate figures—Socrates to Cesare Borgia—who are supposed to represent different types of leaders. The quality of the essays is as various as their subjects; the chapter on Dorothy Day, the Catholic radical, is the best. The book is equal parts scholasticism, journalism, and self-help—as if Thomas Aquinas had been asked to rewrite *The Management Secrets of Attila the Hun* for *The Atlantic Monthly*.

—RICHARD BROOKHISER

Mencken: A Biography, by Fred Hobson (Random House, 627 pp., $35)

HE WAS hypochondriacal, mostly misanthropic, occasionally blissful, congenitally pessimistic, a congenial elitist, and a frequent tippler. All right, but was H. L. Mencken really a racist, a misogynist, an anti-Semite, and a homophobe? According to his latest biographer, Fred Hobson, the answers are no, no, possibly, and definitely. Mr. Hobson is neither a member of the PC police nor out to rescue Mencken from their clutches. H. L. Mencken did—and does—have his enemies, but Fred Hobson is not among them. This is a biography of, rather than a brief for—or against—a man who was quite able to take care of himself. In fact, it is Mr. Hobson's contention that Mencken, the scourge of the "booboisie," was not above fretting over such bourgeois concerns as the state of his posthumous reputation. And a bourgeois gentleman he was. A man of "honor" (rather than morality), Mencken paid his bills, met his family obligations, and remained loyal to those friends who he thought deserved his loyalty. If there is a revelation in these pages, it is that in his daily life Mencken was a sort of closet Rotarian. —JOHN C. CHALBERG

The Emerging Atlantic Culture, by Thomas Molnar (Transaction, 113 pp., $27.95)

HERE'S a refreshing change of pace: a well-known conservative casts the United States in the role of The Evil Empire. An apt subtitle for this book, a bitter indictment of American culture and its deleterious effects upon Europe since World War II, would be *Professor Molnar Hates America*. Mr. Molnar contends that the "Atlantic culture" is less a confluence of two cultures than an extension of one, for in the new Atlantic culture, it is only Europe and not America that is being transformed. Ever since 1945, he says, Europe has been occupied territory, abjectly bowing before manners, mores, food, music, movies, fashions, products, and attitudes imported from the New World. He calls this process "the peak event" of the twentieth century, and "American culture" is for him a synonym for the dark side of modernity. As in any effective broadside, there's a good deal of caricature here. None of Mr. Molnar's accusations are baseless, but he ignores the virtues that offset our peculiar defects: pervasive (if somewhat shallow) religious belief, love of freedom and opportunity, boundless energy and creativity, the earnest desire to do what is right, reverence for law and civic virtue. Unfortunately, in Mr. Molnar's portrait of America, a disproportionate amount of canvas is occupied by McDonald's, Coca-Cola, and Disneyland.

—JOHN WAUCK

The Green Crusade, by Charles T. Rubin (Free Press, 312 pp., $22.95)

THE political success of environmentalism is largely due to a handful of intellectuals who popularized central ecological tenets, such as the fear of technology and a distrust of economic growth. Charles Rubin dissects these environmental "popularizers"—Rachel Carson, Paul Ehrlich, E. F. Schumacher, the Club of Rome—outlines the implications of their ideological visions, and discusses some more recent challenges to modern environmentalist dogma. Mr. Rubin artfully explains why *The Limits to Growth* had a constrained view of technological advancement and why *The Population Bomb* was a dud. Green tracts have suggested scenarios of future apocalypse which can only be averted by adopting political schemes that can fairly be described as totalitarian—in that they embrace the notion that "social, political, and economic arrangements can and should have a like unity of purpose." Yet time and again the alarms have proved false. "What is really at stake is less *predictions* about the future than *prescriptions*," Mr. Rubin suggests. "Prophecy is not merely about what will happen but about what we should be doing." Regrettably, the "popularizers" fail to recognize the utopian character of their own visions. It is a mistake Mr. Rubin's readers will be saved from making.

—JONATHAN H. ADLER

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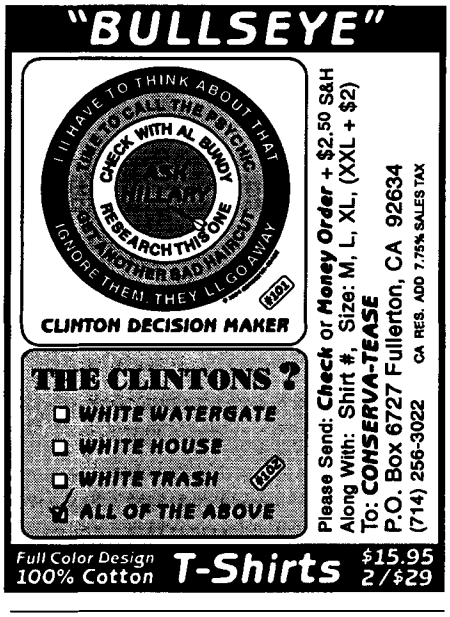

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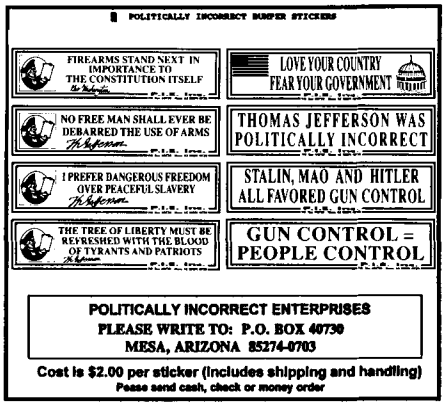
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BLAKEY

(Continued from page 62)

statutes. Eventually, Miss Ireland's strategy was adopted and this case was linked with the Scheidler case, though the Pensacola clinic subsequently dropped out of the litigation for reasons known only to it.

Those who follow the Ireland strategy acknowledge its purpose: to curtail the demonstrators' free-speech rights. Ed Tinyak, who represented clinic litigants in another RICO suit, told the 1987 NOW convention that he sued under RICO to deter "fringe types of people" (he called them "drooling androids") from engaging in demonstrations. In that RICO case, Mr. Tinyak recovered only $887 in actual damages (trebled to $2,661) but he got $64,946.11 in fees and costs. The Ireland strategy is now institutionalized: the National Abortion Federation, a trade organization in the half-billion-dollar industry, circulates standard RICO complaints, as does the ACLU, a particularly perverse development in the light of its 1969 testimony.

As Dennis Byrne of the *Chicago Sun-Times* editorial board observes:

> No doubt, though, some companies that pollute the environment, generate nuclear waste, do business with apartheid regimes, own slums, and engage in unfair labor practices will see a great deal of merit in NOW's argument. . . . [S]uch companies should send their thanks directly to their new friends at NOW.

Today, the Supreme Court is enamored of a new judicial philosophy, aptly termed the "New Textualism." Only in the most extraordinary of circumstances will it look beyond text to legislative context. While the new philosophy is rationalized as curbing judicial activism, it has the effect of being unfaithful to congressional intent when a statute is, as RICO was, drafted under a different set of assumptions from those now prevailing.

Until the applicability of RICO to demonstrations is definitively rejected, the success of the Ireland strategy in the Supreme Court will chill political and social protest of all types. Such a weapon of terror against First Amendment freedoms was not what I was told to design when I was counsel to Senator McClellan, and I would have declined the invitation had anyone suggested it. □

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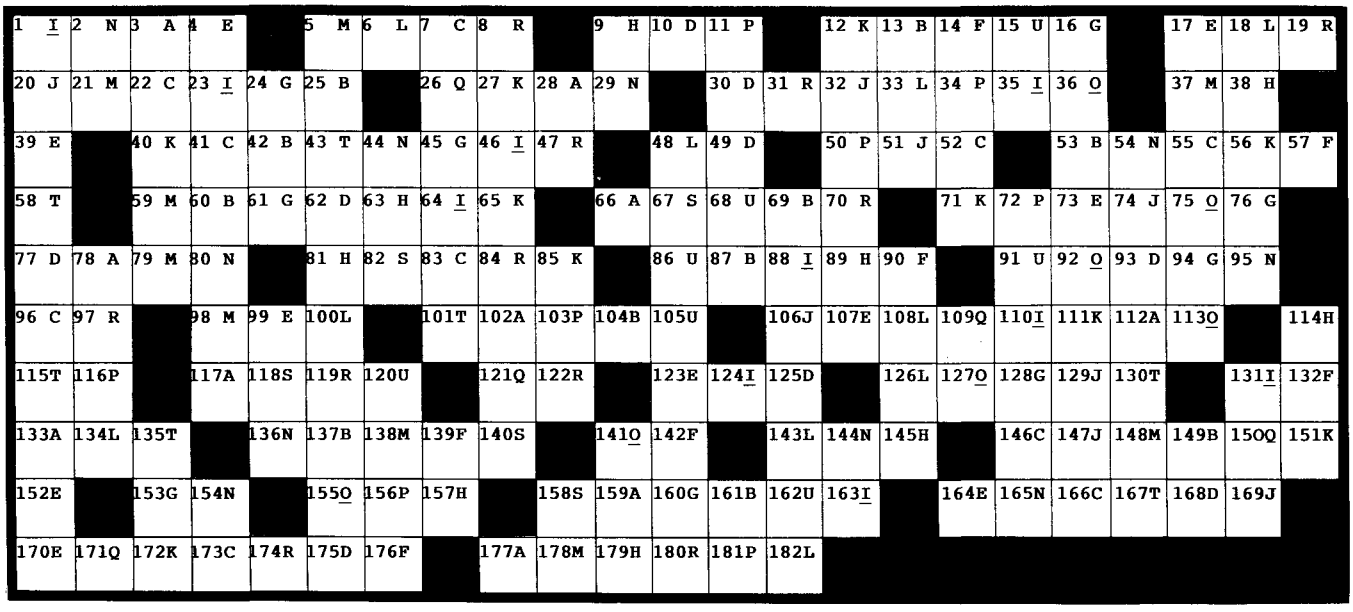
TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. What can go wrong, will (2 words) — 117 133 3 66 78 112 177 28 159 102

B. A toast topping (2 words) — 137 53 60 69 42 87 149 25 13 161 104

C. Resilient rock group? (2 words) — 146 83 96 55 52 41 166 7 173 22

D. Disease cause — 93 62 49 125 30 77 168 175 10

E. Possessive punctuation — 39 17 170 152 123 73 107 164 99 4

F. Zilch, more formally — 142 132 90 14 57 176 139

G. Dietician's concern — 94 45 76 16 61 160 128 153 24

H. Mississippi's delta, et al. — 145 81 114 89 9 179 63 157 38

I. Ma Barker—literally — 1 64 163 124 23 46 131 88 35 110

J. Engravings — 147 129 169 51 32 106 74 20

K. Medical problem — 111 85 71 56 27 40 151 172 12 65

L. Ready for page one — 33 100 108 134 126 48 18 143 6 182

M. Circumstance — 148 21 98 178 79 5 37 59 138

N. Considerate — 80 144 2 54 95 136 44 154 165 29

O. The best policy — 127 141 36 75 113 155 92

P. A canine — 181 11 116 50 103 72 34 156

Q. Casals, to his friends — 171 109 26 150 121

R. In a rude manner — 119 122 84 47 8 70 174 180 19 31 97

S. Pillages — 158 118 67 82 140

T. Dissolves by a percolating liquid — 167 135 43 58 115 130 101

U. Ready to be ridden — 162 86 120 105 68 15 91

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. RAYMOND SCOTT: *Government:* "If our rights and freedoms are to be protected, if we are to hand them down intact to future generations, we must rein in our governments and make them work within their constitutional limits. We have many legitimate ways to do that."

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The Right Not To Think?

NEW YORK, APRIL 19

Just how many rings does this circus have? Bosnia is central, but North Korea could in a flash throw all the rest into the shadows. Much attention is given to Rwanda, because on-the-scene holocausts tend to attract public attention. Granted, it gives the satisfaction of remoteness and inaccessibility; not so the little Haitian problem, in which there are U.S. commitments to worry about, even if they were informal, made by a candidate, not a President. And of course a few weeks from now South Africa might be in flames. If that were to happen, such responsibility as we have for it would be philosophical and political in nature (we too preached one man, one vote, and never mind the consequences). But nobody would expect us to intervene, beyond loudly deploring the violence. Violence we deplore everywhere, though, granted, not in the identical tone of voice.

What is causing a true disequilibrium in the American people is the utter shapelessness of the ringmaster. Nobody knows—*nobody* knows—what we are going to do, e.g., in Bosnia. A couple of weeks ago we actually used NATO—to be sure, only after a nod from the supremest commander, the UN's Boutros Boutros-Ghali. A little earlier we had threatened force, and the mere enunciation of that threat, backed up by Russian acquiescence in it, had the effect of relieving Sarajevo. But the aggressors all but seamlessly moved in on another front, and although we threatened—and then didn't threaten—and although Russia said, "Don't worry, we have the situation under control," the war machine continued to march, and Gorazde is theirs. The public's mind was distracted from contradictory statements made by our Defense Department and our State Department on that theater, by contradictory statements made by U.S. officials on another theater. In Germany, one of our representatives said that Germany is an inherently racist country; the other one said, No it isn't.

The sensation one has is of living in a country in which an assassin has executed the Leader. We know there is a successor, because there is a Constitution that prescribes that there shall be. But we do not know what will be the policies of the successor. What causes special anxiety is that the successor was sworn in 15 months ago.

It can be maintained that it is not obvious what our foreign policy should be. Two schools of thought on Somalia were morally and strategically presentable. As much is true of Bosnia. Almost as much is true of North Korea. Of China. Of Haiti. What is morally decomposing is the failure to enunciate a policy on the basis of which there can be a consolidation of support, or even of opposition. Mr. Clinton's emphatic declarations during the campaign, to the effect that we needed to commit ourselves against the genocidal war in Yugoslavia, were certainly persuasive, even though they were not dispositive: many sophisticated strategists continue to resist U.S. involvement in that theater. But neither side is able to dig in, because digging in against a Clinton policy is on the order of nailing down quicksilver.

About a week ago, Mr. Les Aspin, who until very recently was the primary strategist of the Clinton Administration, said that North Korea is threatening in two senses. In the first, we have a North Korea with one, perhaps two, nuclear weapons, but no real delivery system: that North Korea is a threat as a terrorist is a threat—dangerous stuff, but never cataclysmic. The other threat is North Korea as an exporter of nuclear technology and refined uranium to other countries—as, in other words, a sponsor of true nuclear proliferation. That is a threat we cannot "tolerate."

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Mr. Aspin is persuasive. But as he is only a few weeks out as Secretary of Defense, what are the policies he bequeathed us in respect of that second threat? Are we to assume that he made recommendations to the President, which recommendations are a) being acted upon, b) not being acted upon, c) being considered?

The impatience being felt is not for a call to action. Sometimes in thorny world situations it pays to do nothing, because it is the passage of time that precisely one wants. What gives us the eerie sense of emptiness at this moment is that there is no suggestion of a mind at work. We do not feel the humming of brainpower, informed by moral priorities, strategic intelligence. It is altogether stupefying, as if President Clinton had discovered a brand new constitutional right, the right not to think. □

Dumping Solarz

NEW YORK, APRIL 5

Stephen Solarz's name was withdrawn from consideration as ambassador to India. Because he would be a poor ambassador to India? No. Whatever the limitations of Mr. Solarz, they have nothing to do with any lack of skills. The poor, precocious gentleman was early in life afflicted by a virus that refined taxonomists identify as Eastern Seaboard liberalism. But this is hardly incapacitating for an ambassador to India, and inconceivably a handicap to anyone serving in the court of President Clinton.

The circumstances of my indignation require full disclosure. I was reminded by Mr. Solarz in one of our many encounters that when he was a student at Brandeis, the humiliation befell him to serve as my guide when I was a visiting lecturer. Manifestly he learned very little from my speech, given his subsequent (meteoric) career. He won his first race for Congress in 1974 and was easily reelected until 1992. What happened then was a redistricting that left him confronting a Hispanic in a determinedly Hispanic district.

The case against Solarz, if one wants to call it a case, is that he was careless in using the congressional bank a few years ago. Some of his House checks were drawn on insufficient funds. He always caught up with them, and the cler-

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ical delinquency had come very close to being a convention in Congress. If everyone who had been careless in this matter had been disqualified, Rostenkowski would not have been reconfirmed in Chicago a few weeks ago. Somewhere along the line Mr. Solarz pointed out that his informal habits in the matter had actually cost him money, given that deposits in the congressional bank did not pay interest.

But the smoking pistol has to do with his relationship with a resident of Hong Kong, one Albert Yeung Shau-shing. Mr. Albert is married to an American woman, had a one-year visa to the United States which was not renewed, and asked Congressman Solarz to intercede for him. Mr. Solarz wrote a form letter of inquiry.

And that was it; but in December 1992, after his defeat, Mr. Solarz was in Hong Kong and was approached by Albert, again on the matter of a visa. Once again, he wrote to the local visa office asking what was the difficulty.

Are you ready? The question arose, Did Albert "bribe" Solarz? Was Albert prepared to retain Solarz in exchange for wangling a visa? Because, it transpires, Albert has a bad reputation, and indeed he did approach Mr. Solarz with a view to retaining him as an advisor on setting up corporations in Asia. The FBI was routinely brought in, investigated, and advised the State Department that there were no grounds for preferring charges.

It is not reasonably questioned that Solarz would have given useful advice, whether to Albert Yeung Shau-shing, or to the government of India. He served as chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs and spent a great deal of productive time in the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, India, and Japan. He is a gentleman of extraordinary energy and incisive mind, a gifted and public-spirited advocate.

Why did the Clinton White House pull the rug from under him? A telephone call to Senator Orrin Hatch yields the judgment by a keen professional that Solarz would have won the endorsement of the Senate. Senator Hatch saw fit to add: "and whatever the differences I have with him, I'd say that he would have done a fine job." The Clinton Administration has good grounds for being afraid of its shadow, but it is supremely demoralizing to deal so shabbily with the same man who two years ago was pointed to as a likely Secretary of State in the event there was a Democratic President. It is not risky to say that if Mr. Solarz had been Secretary, and if Mr. Clinton had taken his advice, our foreign policy would not be the impenetrable mess it now is, everywhere from Haiti to China. □

Singapore Blues

NEW YORK, APRIL 15

My doc (annual check-up) complained that "all that anybody talks about" is the dispute over the Singapore sentencing of the delinquent American kid. One gathers that the overwhelming majority of Americans questioned on the point believe that Singapore should go through with the punishment.

An attempt to isolate the distinctions was recently made in this space, but a correspondent, disgruntled by any analysis that indulges, even if it does not approve, the Singapore sentence, raises questions that ought to be considered.

I took advantage of the skill and knowledge of the doctor to ask a point that trips up routine assessment of the punishment. My question: Why do six strokes of the cane bring on scars? Or is it probable that the talk of scars is exaggerated?

He explains that scars are a reflection of the trauma caused. If a razor blade slides across your arm, the incision is neat and resulting scar tissue is negligible, even non-existent. But if the instrument that breaks the flesh is coarse, the corrugations obtrusive, then the mending flesh shows scars.

Next question: Why do the people in Singapore who wrote the law insist on so crude a weapon to inflict the pain, when other weapons, e.g., a leather strap, would not result in scars?

His answer: "Presumably," the rattan cane causes more pain. And "presumably" it is precisely intended that a scar should be left, to remind the offender of his delinquency, and others, who see the scar, of the high cost of violating the law. The question is therefore revisited yet again: Are we talking about punishment, or are we talking about torture?

Mr. Michael Lind, the executive editor of *The National Interest*, writes, "Most conservative dupes of the Singaporeans do not even bother to do the most minimal research about their nasty little practices. Here is a little fact that has been left out in all the paeans to this phony Asian utopia by ignorant right-wing authoritarians: vandalism was added to the list of caning offenses some years back only because political dissidents were spray-painting slogans attacking the [dominant political party]. In a one-party state where the press is muzzled and political dissidents are jailed, the spray can is one of the only means of dissent. . . . The Right is always claiming to represent Western civilization, but the minute some two-bit dictatorship going on about 'Confucian values' defends torture the conservatives are suddenly kowtowing to the wisdom of the East. Pathetic."

The critic is overheated, and his language undisciplined (if Lee Kuan Yew is a two-bit historical figure we may as well give up on the concept of a philosopher-king). No responsible conservative wishes to adopt the penological culture of Singapore. But no responsible analyst will deny that there are correlations between Singapore's handling of crime, and the incidence of crime in Singapore. If we began hanging people who sell drugs, drug sellers would diminish in number. That spray-painting is a means by which the dissident expresses himself—as has been the case in Moscow and Peking—doesn't mean that spray-painting needs to be protected. Young Mr. Fay was not protesting the folkways and mores of the society to which his mother and stepfather had taken the family to live.

Those Americans who weigh the deprivations of life in America caused by crime are entitled to ask themselves whether they would forgo certain provisions of the Bill of Rights in exchange for the security of life in Singapore. I would not make the exchange; but I would not condemn quite so categorically as Mr. Lind those who would. They might include the parents of the two little girls recently kidnapped and murdered. What was once a social epigram—Who says A must say B—became a cliché because it is a truism: If you want to discourage vandalism, then make it extremely unpleasant for the vandal. Whether the degree of unpleasantness stipulated by Singapore is acceptable is an aspect of cultural perspective. In the glorious liberty-nurturing age of Queen Victoria, young Mr. Fay would have been hanged, not flogged.

The temptation is to believe that everyone should arrive at exactly the same level of ethical sophistication with which we ourselves feel comfortable. Others behave the same way: Europeans disdain our continued resort to capital punishment.

And we Americans especially worry about how to guarantee to our citizens life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness when we can't even protect them from violence and death. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Wilted Collars

"TWO AMERICANS," wrote Randall Jarrell, "English manners are more frightening than none at all." It's true. We hate good manners; they make us feel shut out and held at arm's length. We would much rather be at each other's throats, which at least has the advantage of resembling a hug. Given a choice between the starched collar of respect and the rump-sprung britches of love, the American fashion has never been in doubt.

Manners have always co-existed uneasily with our national purpose. Cherishing the canard that nobody is better than anybody else, we enshrined informality so as to put people at ease instead of in their place, until we concluded that it is impossible to give offense in a democratic society. Then along came the multiculturalists, who said, "Offense is a group thing, and you'd better understand." We understood perfectly: if it's not bigotry, it's not rudeness. Now we are so busy being sensitive that we have become barbaric.

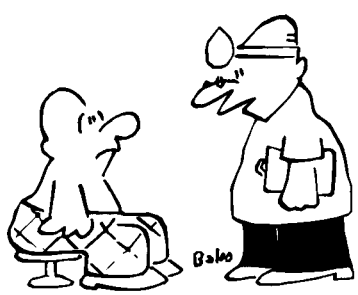
Mouth-slapping cereal commercials give us a view of food inside the actor's mouth, and "Washington apples, they're as good as you've heard," presents crunch after crunch after crunch, until the last cruncher catches the drip with his finger and licks it off with a loud slurp.

Now to the other end. The Odor-Eaters man mourns, "My feet stink!" Macintosh has a file-compressing software called "StuffIt." The "Marvin" comic strip contains regular references to "poopy diapers." A typical Metro headline reads: "Dog Owners Warned to Scoop Poop." A laxative commercial features a constipated construction engineer worried that the little pill he took will "kick in" while he is on top of his half-finished skyscraper, and ABC News ran an interminable segment about odors in the shuttle toilet, which, we were needlessly told, "smelled like a men's room."

Being earthy is like being satirical. The satirist needs a like-minded audience of co-conspirators who are secure enough not to take everything literally; they cannot be incorrigible romantics or nervous status seekers. Successful earthiness likewise demands a unified outlook. A British historian's deadpan description of the Tommy's standard laxative in Victorian India—"a spoonful o' gunpowder in a cuppa 'ot tea"—is funny because everything is all of a piece, but American diversity, with its goal of "inclusion," has no common ground but the lowest common denominator. That we have become the land of the bathroom joke was a foregone conclusion.

Our vocabulary of manners has shrunk. Every review (except mine) of H. L. Mencken's diary contained the sentence, "His racism is inexcusable." But nothing else is inexcusable, and anyone who uses the word about a lapse in etiquette is told to "lighten up." A nurse who does not first-name her ninety-year-old patients is *punctilious*, which now means cold. As for *civility*, it is rarely used in its broadest sense; usually it crops up in arguments about arguments, as in "civil discourse," when pundits fret about the proper way to be rude on *Crossfire*.

We lighten up in the wrong ways, at the wrong times, in the wrong places, with the wrong people, and call it inclusion, when in fact it is a faux pas most grievous. Having a Tomb of the Unknowns insults the Unknown Soldier because more than one destroys the whole concept. Fiddling with holidays to create three-day weekends institutionalizes disrespect. Rush Limbaugh, anxious to prove that conservatives practice inclusion, interrupts a respectful young caller with, "You don't have to call me sir." Why not? A brilliant man and natural leader who is admired by millions certainly should be called sir.



"You can get a second opinion if you like, but you'd better hurry!"

THE PURPOSE of manners is to make life serene for those about us. The most ignored form of civility nowadays is being clear and concise. Atlanta lawyers used to say that it was impossible to misinterpret a Will written by Eugene Mitchell, Margaret Mitchell's father. "In drawing a Will," he always advised, "just look after the grammar, and the law will look after itself."

So will the manners, but democracy makes Druids of the intelligent. Some of our most intelligent people, at least in terms of raw IQ, are young male technologists known as computer jocks. Having grown up hearing that "everyone is equal" when they know perfectly well everyone is not, they get even by writing User's Manuals that no one can understand. A badly written User's Manual can cause literal accidents, but when it makes people feel stupid it can also cause figurative accidents, harder to define but just as damaging. The contempt that fairly oozes out of these impenetrable oak groves is rudeness incarnate.

The current state of American manners makes me feel as if I were trapped in a Brueghel painting of a rustic kermiss in full swing—peasants, peasants everywhere and much the worse for drink, grabbing food and each other and gnawing on both with untrammeled gusto. God may have loved the common people, but a trip to any shopping mall suggests that He made far too many of them.

When loutishness becomes the rule, the people who suffer the most are women, for whom manners originally were devised. Instead of identifying with the scum of the earth, feminists should reflect that a bold peasantry, their country's pride, when once unleashed can never be denied.

—FLORENCE KING

Miss King's first book, Southern Ladies and Gentlemen, *has just been reissued in paperback (St. Martin's).*

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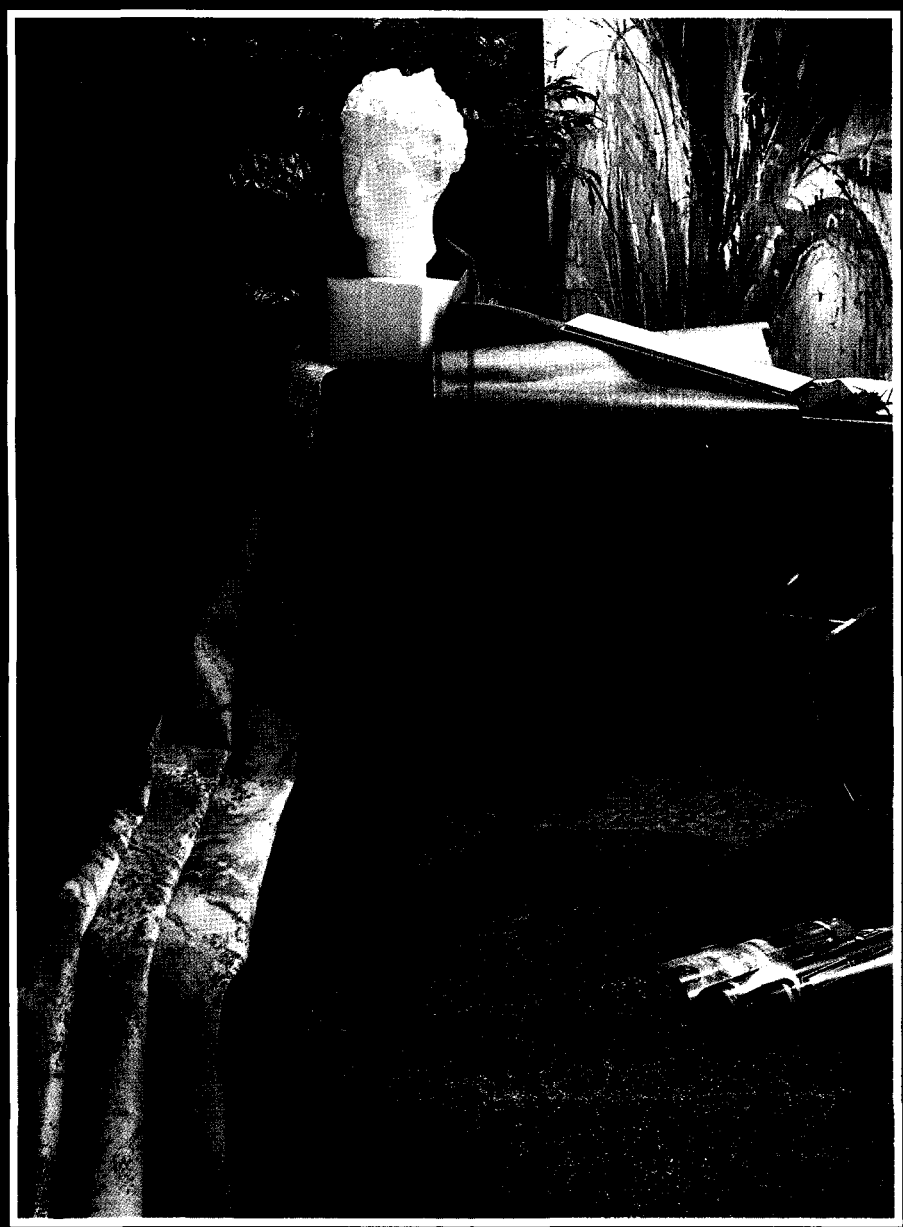

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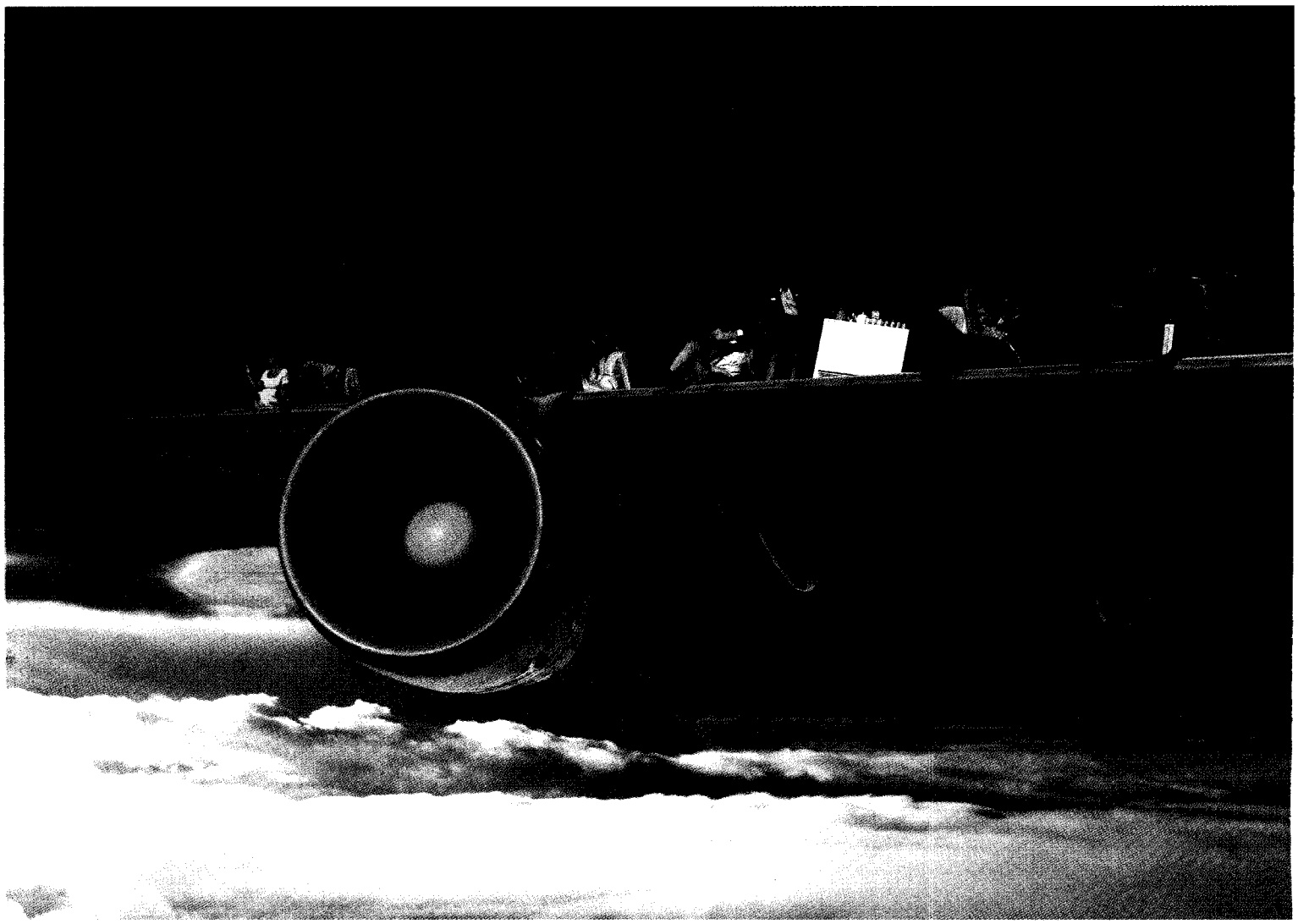

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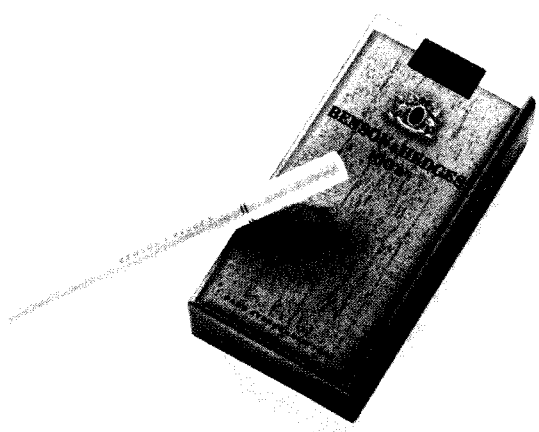

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